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THE HISTORY OF CAULONIA

BY

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THESIS

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPER-
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BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
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THE HISTORY OF CAULONIA.

I. NAME.

Caulonia, one of the most important colonies of Magna Graecia, has been designated in the works of ancient authors by the following names: Ἀὐλὼν, Ἀὐλωνία, Aulon, Aulonia, Καὐλωνία, Caulon, and Caulonia. For the period from the sixth to the fourth century B. C. the best authority for the name is that of the coins, which are preserved in fairly large numbers. In the first period of coinage the legend ran ΚΑΥ; ΚΑΥΛ, ΚΑΥΛΟ and later it appeared as (Κ)ΑΥΛΟΝΙΑΤΑΝ (1), ΑΥΛΟΝΙΑΤΑΣ (2) (sic), ΚΑΥΛΟΝΙΑΤΑΝ, ΑΥΛ (3), and ΚΑΥΛΟΝΙΑΤΑΣ (4). Since there are no inscriptions, the legends upon the coins are the most certain proof of the existence of forms beginning both with and without the letter K. But because only the ethnic appears, and not the town name, it is impossible from this source to determine whether the name ended in -ῶν or -ωνία.

1. E. Merzbacher, No. 262.
2. B. M. C., p. 339, No. 32.
3. Le Duc de Luynes: Nouv. Ann., I, 389.
4. J. Eckhel: D. Num. Vet. I, 168.
B. Head: Hist. Num. 2., 93-94.
A. Hands: Coins of Mag. Gr., 185.

All the Greek writers except Appian, who mention the town employ the form *Καυλωνία* (1), perhaps from an earlier form *Αὐλωνία* (2), and the Latin authors Aulon, Caulon or Caulonia (3), the name of the modern city in Italy. For the form Aulonia (4) there seems to be no ancient authority in Latin. The form in most common use at present is Caulonia among the English, French and Italians, and Kaulonia, or Kaulon among the Germans.

Various theories have been proposed concerning the derivation of the name. The only explanation handed down by ancient authors is that *Καυλωνία* comes from *Αὐλωνία* (5), a name derived from its supposed location in or near an *αὐλὼν* (6). Most writers who derive *Καυλωνία* from *αὐλὼν* think that the

1. Diod., XIV, 103; Etym. Mag., 170.9, 494.9; Eust., 1457, 43; Jambl., *De Vita Pyth.* 142; Plut., *Dion* 26; Polyb., X,1; Porph., *Vit. Pyth.* 56; Paus., VI, 3,12; Polyae., VI, 11; Scylax, 13; Scymn., 320; Steph. Byz., s.v. *Καυλωνία*; Strabo, VI, 261; Suid. Lex., s.v. *Καυλωνία*; Appian, Hann., VIII, 49 employs the form *Αὐλωνία*.
2. Hecat. ap. St. Byz., s.v. *Καυλωνία*; Charax ap. Eust., 734.48; (Ap. 1457, 43); Scymn., 320; Strabo, VI, 261; Etym. Mag., 170.9, 494.9.
3. Serv., *Ver. Aen.*, III, 553; Anon. Rav. Geog., IV, 32; Guid., 31, 72; Livy, XXVII, 15; Ver., *Aen.*, III, 553; Ovid., XV, 705 (with acc. Caulona); Pliny, III, 10, 15; Livy, XXVII, 12, 16; Mela, II, 4; Solin., 34, 5.
4. Cluverius Bk. 4, 15, 38; Mannert, 194.
5. Charax ap. Eust., 734, 48 - Κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Ἀλεξανδρέα Ἡρακλείδην, ὡς πατὴρ πάτος, στείρω στίβος, οὕτω ἐλεύθω ἐλευδος, καὶ πλεονασιμῶ τοῦ κ' ἐλεύθος, ὃ λόγῳ καὶ τὴν αὐλωνίαν χάραξ *Καυλωνίαν* φησὶν Eust., 1457, 43 - καὶ ἐν τῷ *Καυλωνία*. παρὰ τὸν αὐλῶνα γὰρ ἐκεῖνο λέγεται. καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀνθ' ἡλίου καὶ ἀνθ' ἡλίου ὡς φασιν οἱ παλαιοί.
Steph. Byz., s.v. *Αὐλών*: Αὐλὼν, πόλις Λακωνικῆς, μία τῶν ἑκατόν. ὁ πολίτης Αὐλωνίτης. δευτέρα πόλις Ἀρκαδίας· ὁ πολίτης Αὐλωνίος, τρίτη πόλις Κρήτης ἢ τόπος. ἔστι καὶ τόπος Ἀραβίας. ἔστι καὶ Αὐλὼν ὁ κ' ἐπόλις ἀνθ' ἡλίου, ἥτις ἀνωμάσθη *Καυλωνία*.
Etym. Mag., 170, 9 - Αὐλωνία: ... καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν προκειμένων ἔχοντα τὸ ὄνομα 494.9 - *Καυλωνία*: ἔκ τοῦ Αὐλών, κατὰ πλεονασμὸν τοῦ κ.
6. Hecat. ap. St. Byz., s.v. *Καυλωνία*: ... πόλις Ἰταλίας, ἢ *Αὐλωνίαν* Ἐκαταῖος καλεῖ· ὅτερον μετανομάσθη *Καυλωνία*, ὡς ἀπὸ *Μεταβίου* ἢ *ρωσῶ* *Μεταπόντιον* καὶ Ἐπίδαυρον· Eust., 1457, 43. Scymn. Ch., 320-322 - ἀπὸ τοῦ συνέγγους κειμένου δὲ τῇ πόλει αὐλῶνος αὕτη τοῦ ὀνόματος ὅτερον μετανομάσθη τῷ χρόνῳ *Καυλωνία*.
Strabo, VI, 261 - *Καυλωνία*, πρότερον δ' *Αὐλωνία* λεγόμενη διὰ τὸν προκειμένον αὐλῶνα.

latter word means a valley (1), as it does in many places. Yet to the Greeks it meant not only a valley but also a ravine, a cañon, a narrow plain or a strait, all of which words, however, give the idea of a long narrow strip (2). The name might have been applied to the whole plain or valley, meaning the country (3) including the αὐλῶν; or it might have been applied to the city located in the αὐλῶν, or upon a height near the αὐλῶν (4). There are only a few who have disagreed with the theory that the name Caulonia comes from αὐλῶν, and yet if this were true, one would not expect to find ΚΑΥΛΟ upon the earliest coin, but ΑΥΛΟ which does not occur until the latest period of coinage. It is not impossible that Aulon or Caulon may have designated the town proper, and Aulonia or Caulonia the district, as Corinthia, Megaria, etc. As the district was small the transfer of appellation would be easy, especially since the ethnic for both (Καυλωνιάτης) would be the same.

1. E. Babelon: *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, II, Col. 1459; P. Clüverius: *Italia Antiqua*, Bk. IV, 15, 38; W. Emmius (*Thes. IV, 182, A*); E. Desjardins, *Comment. on Tab. Peut.*, 235; A. Forbiger: *Handb. der Alt. Geog. v. Europa*, III, 514; F. Gerlach: *Pythag.*, 38; K. Mannert: *Geog. v. Ital.*, IX, 194; K. Miller: *Itin. Rom.*, 359.
2. L. Grasberger: *Stud. zu den griechischen Ortsnamen*, 198; Compare the long list of places bearing this name in P - W., II, 2, 2413 ff.
3. *Suid. Lex.*, s.v. Καυλωνία: χωρᾶ.
4. Verg., *Aen.*, III, 553 - "Caulonisque arces". This expression suggesting a height would hardly be appropriate for a city actually built in a valley.

The inhabitants are never called Αὐλωνίαται but Καυλωνίαται (1). There are a few coins the legend upon which begins with Λ , but if the K were intentionally omitted (2), this would simply indicate that the forms Καυλωνία and Αὐλωνία existed side by side, and would offer no contemporary evidence that Aulonia was the original form, for these coins belong uniformly to the latest period (3). It is just as easy to explain the form Aulonia as formed by dropping the K (4) as Caulonia from Aulonia by adding a letter. From the coins now in existence it is certain that ΚΑΥΛΟ was the earlier and more common form. Nor was καυλ- an uncommon stem, occurring in Caulos , the name of the eponymous hero of Caulonia and the name of the maker of a vase recently found near Tarentum,⁽⁵⁾ and in καυλός (a stock), and καυλέω (to form a stalk) with its compounds. If the city were called Caulonia from αὐλῶν ,

1. St. Byz., s.v. Αὐλῶν : τὸ ἐθνικὸν Καυλωνιάτης .
 Ibid. s.v. Καυλωνία : ὁ πολὺς Καυλωνιάτης ὡς Ἀπολλωνιάτης καὶ Θηλυκόν .
 Καυλωνιάτης , καὶ Καυλώριος .
 Polyb., II, 39; Diod., XIV, 106; Jambl., Vit. Pyth., 262. The feminine of the ethnic mentioned by Stephanus appears in Thuc. VII, 25, $\text{ἐν τῇ Καυλωνιάτει (α. γ. ἡ)}$.
2. E. Merzbacher. No. 262 supplies Κ to ΑΥΛΩΝΙΑΤΑ (N).
3. Le Duc de Luynes, *Nouv. Ann.*, I, 389 says that the type in relief upon both sides is older than the incuse because he found a coin of that type with the legend ΑΥΛ which corresponded to the older name of Caulonia. The incuse, however, is the older type and V not Y occurs upon the earliest coins.
 T. Mommsen: *Gesch. d. Röm Münzwesen*, 106, N. 52.
4. L. Grasberger: *Stud. zu den griechischen Ortsnamen*, 143.
5. *Jahrb. d. kaiserl. deutsch. arch. Inst.* XIX, (1904), 113.

it need not mean that its original form lacked a K, for the citizens wishing to give an etymology for its name might have invented a derivation from $\alpha \upsilon \lambda \omega \nu$, just as later writers produced a Caulon to explain its name.

If Caulonia or Aulonia were situated upon a promontory as present indications would lead one to believe (see below), what would the name mean? In the field of numismatics theories differing greatly from the traditional one have been proposed. The attempt of Mazochius to derive Caulonia from the Hebrew, which has been well refuted by Eckhel (1), may be passed over here. Panofka (2) saw in the name of Caulonia a play upon $\kappa \alpha \upsilon \lambda \acute{o} \varsigma$. Head also is inclined to think that it may have had its origin in $\kappa \alpha \upsilon \lambda \acute{o} \varsigma$ (a stalk). There is a plant, the *Pastinaca sativa*, the roots of which have long been used for a food in this region, whose tall stalk, according to Head, may have given a name to the city and be carried as an emblem of the city by the figures upon the coins (3).

For others these same coins have a very different meaning. Since the site of the city is said to be extremely windy, as might be inferred from the name Typhon ascribed by Pausanias (4) to the founder of the colony, Lloyd would interpret the little running figure as an emblem of the wind.⁽⁵⁾ Because of the windy

1. J. Eckhel: *D. Num. Vet.* I, 168.
2. Panofka, *Arch. Zeit.*, I (1840), 174.
3. B. Head: *Hist. Num.*, 93.
4. Paus., VI, 3, 12.
5. W. Lloyd, *Num. Chron.*, 1848.

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character of this region, Hands thinks it possible that the name might be derived from $\alpha\omega$, $\alpha\eta\mu$, $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ (to blow). The common derivation from $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu$ would not destroy his theory, for $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu$ contains for him "the idea of a narrow pass through which the winds blow" (1).

To sum up, I should conclude that Καυλῶν was the original name of the town, and Καυλωρία that of the countryside; Αἰῶν and Αἰωρία would then be a secondary form of the name, due probably to an etymological guess; or to the frequency of this latter place name among the Greeks. It was not at all uncommon for different forms of the same town name to exist side by side in antiquity.

1. A. Hands: Coins of Magna Graecia, 183.

II. LOCATION.

Servius (1) incorrectly connected Caulonia with the Aulon near Tarentum (2) mentioned by Horace (3) and Martial (4). Disregarding this sheer error Caulonia is generally considered to have been a city in eastern Bruttium (5), the modern Calabria. According to Strabo and Pliny it was near the Sagra (6), a river which is identified by some with the modern Alaro (7).

Little aid in fixing the exact location can be gained by considering Caulonia's position in respect to other places.

1. Serv., Ver. Aen., III, 553 - Caulonisque arces: Aulon mons est Calabriae ut Horatius et amicus Aulon fertili Baccho.
G. Barrius: De Situ Cal., III (Thes. XXX, 112, C) says Horace probably had his villa here. 2. A. Hands: Coins of Mag. Gr., 182 - Aulon a hill near Tarentum. I. Orelli, Hor. Carm., II, 6 - Aulon is never called a mountain by the geographers but a valley near Saturum, the present Melone (Romanelli, Top., I, 294). Porphyrio, Hor. Carm., II, 6; K. Mannert: Geog. v. Ital., IX, 194; De-Vit: Tot. Lat. Onomasticon, s.v. Caulonia; E. Desjardins, Tab. Peut., 235 incorrectly states that Servius confused Caulon with Pliny, XIV, VIII (VI), 9, "Caulina vina juxta Capuam". A. Galateius: De Situ Japygiae Liber (Thes. XXX, 15 F - 16 A) continues the confusion by calling the Aulon of Horace Caulon.
3. Hor., Carm., II, 6, 18-20 - Juppiter brumas et amicus Aulon! Fertili Baccho minimum Falermis/Invidet uvis.
4. Mart., Epig., XIII, 125. Nobilis et lanis et felix vitibus Aulon! Det pretiosa tibi vellera, vina mihi.
5. Pauly's Real-Ency., II, 226; F. Lübkers Reallex. d. Klass. Alt. 543; H. Kiepert: Lehrbuch der Alt. Geog. 397; M. Besnier: Lex. de Géog. Anc. 188; B. Head: Hist. Num., 92.
6. Strabo, VI, 261. $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \delta\epsilon\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \epsilon\lambda\gamma\epsilon\alpha\tau\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omega\nu\iota\alpha$.
Pliny III, 10, 15. In ea ora flumina innumera, sed memoratu digna a Locris Sagra, et vestigia oppidi Caulonis, Mustiae, Consilinum castrum, Cocynthus, quod esse longissimum Italiae promenturium aliqui existimant.
7. P. Cluverius: Ital. Ant., 754; G. Barrius: De Situ Calabriae, 110 E; K. Baedeker: Unter-Ital., 260; A. Holm: Gesch. Sicil. im Alter., I, 185; De-Vit: Tot. Lat. Onomasticon, II, 187. This identification is however, by no means certain; see Murry's Handy Class Maps. Ital-Sic.; E. Bunbury in Smit's Dict. of Gk. and Roman Geog.

It was the most southerly of the Achaean colonies and situated near Locri (1). On the one side were Zephyrium and Locri, on the other Croton, Lacinia, Scylacium and Cocinthus (2). Its exact distance from any one of these points can not at present be ascertained with certainty. The Tabula Peutingeriana, the oldest source for relative distances between Caulonia and other cities, is here very corrupt. It places Caulonia 30 m. ($44\frac{1}{2}$ K) from Locri and the same distance from "Scilatio". But there is an error in the map at this point, for the number XXX is twice expressed with Scilatio which is placed in the interior, whereas it belongs on the coast, while its sign of fortification is wrongly assigned to Caulonia (3). Barrius located Caulonia

1. Scymn. 318 in speaking of the Locrians says, Ἐχεται δὲ τούτων πρῶτα μὲν Καυλωνία.

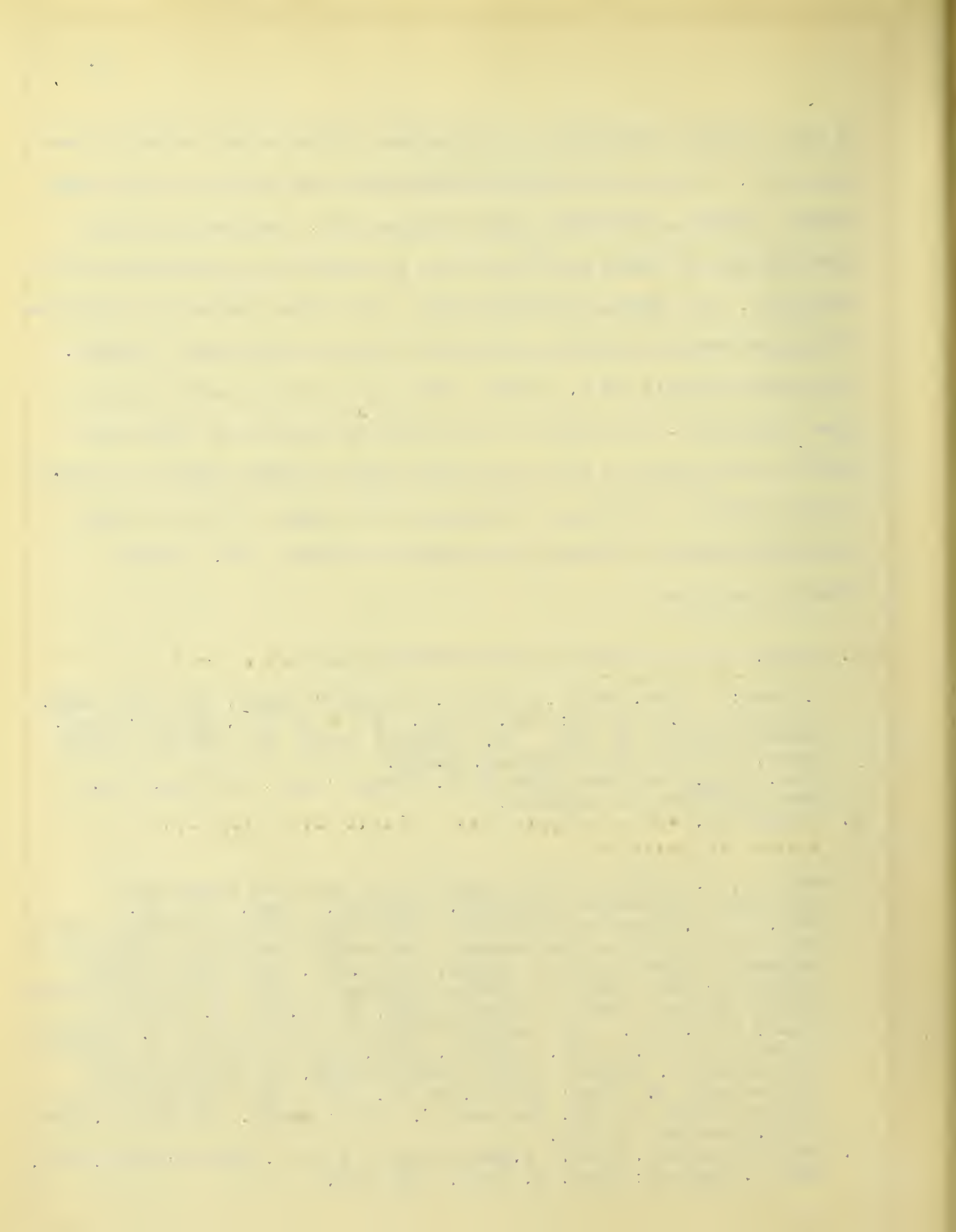
J. Bury: A Hist. of Gr., 103; A. Forbiger: Handb. der Alt. Geog. III, 514; B. Niebuhr: Röm. Gesch., I, π 177; H. Nissen: Ital. Landeskunde II, 2, 950; (E. Vindingū (Thes. XI, 396 D) quoted Scymn. 318-322 under Marcian. p.13).

Dion., Per., 26, mentioned by M. Besnier: Lex. de Géog. Anc., does not refer to Caulonia.

2. Scylax, 13. ἀπὸ γὰρ Ῥηγίου πόλεως εἰσὶν αἶες· Λοκροὶ, Καυλωνία, Κρότων, Λακίνιον, ἔτι.

Mela II, 4. Tertius inter Zephyrium et Bruttium Consentiam, Cauloniam, Locrosque circumdat. Anon-Rav., Geog., IV, 32. Ibid., V, 1. Totas circa litora maris magni positas Christo nobis auxiliante minutius designemus - Tarentum, Metapontum, Eraclia, Anival, Caulon, Locris; Guido, 31, p.471. Item iuxta fretum quod inter Sicilian et Calabriam Italiae dividit est civitas quae dicitur Caulon, Locris, Sileum; Ibid. 72, p.507; M. Besnier: Lex. de Géog. Anc., 188 locates it south of Cocynthus; E. Bunbury in Smith's Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Geog. between Locri and Gulf of Scyllacium; W. Emmius; Vetus Graecia (Thes. IV, 182, A) "post Scylletium"; G. Grote: A Hist. of Gr., III, 380, between Locri and the Lacinian cape. See also B. Niese: Gesch. der griech. and maked. Staaten, I, 474.

3. Desjardins, Tab. Peut., p.235; compare also K. Miller: Itin. Rom, 359; K. Mannert: Geog. v. Ital., IX, 194.



eighteen Roman miles from Locri and seventy from Lacinium (1). Meletius (p. 284) placed it eighteen Italian miles from Locri although the so-called "Stileri tabula" put it scarcely thirteen (2). Hands (3) thinks it was about twenty miles from Locri and seventy from Croton.

With such differences of opinion all that can be said is that Caulonia lay between Locri and Cocinthus near the Sagra. If this river is identical with the modern Alaro, upon which side was Caulonia situated? Strabo and Pliny placed it upon the north side which would conflict with the location of Caulonia at Castelvetero on the south bank of the Alaro (4). Clüverius (5), however, placed Caulonia north of the Sagra, and identifying the Alaro with the Elleporus put Castelvetre upon its right bank. Barrius identified Caulonia with Castrovetum, a city between the Alaro and the Musa (6). It is possible that Caulonia was not far from Castelvetre (7), and yet it cannot be identified with it if

1. G. Barrius: De Situ Calabriae, III (Thes. XXX, 111,F).
2. Poppo, Thuc., VII, 25, n.9. This "tabula" I have been unable to identify.
3. A. Hands: Coins of Mag. Gr., 180-181.
4. E. Bunbury in Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog.
5. P. Clüverius: Ital. Anti. 754 - Trans. Sagram flumen fuit Caulonia --- inter Sagram Cocinthusque promontorium. Est hodie convallis ad Elleporum flumen, qui vulgo nunc dicitur Alaro; in quo oppidum ad dextra fluminis ripam, vulgari adpellatione vocatur Castro vitere, id est, Castrum vetus.
E. Babelon: Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines, Col.1459, accepts this view.
6. G. Barrius: De Situ Calabriae, III (Thes. XXX, 111,F) In^ode est Castrovetum oppidum edito salubrique loco situm inter Alarum et Musam amnes torentinis et anguillis foecundos, undique rupibus septum, distat a mari millibus passum tribus, a Locris duodeviginti, Caulonia olim dictatur a qua abest Lacinium LXX millia passum ut apud Plinium prodidit Agrippa.
7. A. Holm: Gesch. Sicil. in Alt., I, 185.

Castelvetre is the same as the modern Caulonia (1) which stands on the south side of the Alaro (2).

'Baedeker' (3) himself thinks that the ancient city was nearer the sea, upon the heights between Alaro and Precariti. Nissen (4) places it from three to four miles closer. Indeed, the poetry and history of the city would lead one to believe that Caulonia was very near the sea. Ovid (5) represents Aesculapius as sailing by the city on his way to stop the pestilence at Rome. Aeneas also passed that way (6). Porphyrius (7) speaks of Pythagoras fleeing to the port which he calls Caulonia, thus indicating that the city proper could not have been a great distance from the coast. It was this same harbor into which Aristides sailed with his triremes when Dionysius was besieging the city (8), and where afterwards Dionysius anchored his fleet while awaiting the coming of Dion from Greece (9).

1. Lübker's Reallex., 543.

2. K. Baedeker: Unter-Ital., map of Calabria.

3. Ibid., p. 260.

4. H. Nissen: Ital. Landeskunde, II, 2, 950.

5. Ovid., Met. XV, 705 ff. Dextra praerupta Celennia parte Romethiumque legit Caulonaque Naryciamque, Evincitque fretum Siculique angusta Pelori.

6. Verg., Aen., III, 551 - 553. Tarenti cernitur; attollit se diva Lacinia contra, Caulonisque arces et navifragum Scylaceum.

7. Porph., Vit. Pyth., 56 - τὸν Σπυριὸν σὺν ἡρώε.

A. Hands: Coins of Mag. Gr., 181, says that nothing is known of the port of Caulonia, but it is mentioned twice by ancient authors as a part of the city under the same appellation.

8. Polyæn., VI, 11.

9. Plut., Dion, 26.

The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem of the origin of life. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and interesting in the history of science. The second part of the paper is devoted to a detailed discussion of the problem of the origin of life. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and interesting in the history of science. The third part of the paper is devoted to a detailed discussion of the problem of the origin of life. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and interesting in the history of science. The fourth part of the paper is devoted to a detailed discussion of the problem of the origin of life. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and interesting in the history of science. The fifth part of the paper is devoted to a detailed discussion of the problem of the origin of life. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and interesting in the history of science. The sixth part of the paper is devoted to a detailed discussion of the problem of the origin of life. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and interesting in the history of science. The seventh part of the paper is devoted to a detailed discussion of the problem of the origin of life. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and interesting in the history of science. The eighth part of the paper is devoted to a detailed discussion of the problem of the origin of life. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and interesting in the history of science. The ninth part of the paper is devoted to a detailed discussion of the problem of the origin of life. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and interesting in the history of science. The tenth part of the paper is devoted to a detailed discussion of the problem of the origin of life. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and interesting in the history of science.

The large number of coins of Caulonia and the mention of ship lumber in Thucydides (1) point to commercial activities which could not have flourished without an outlet. Had Caulonia proper been situated so far from the sea that a separate harbor town must have been created, it is quite inconceivable that in connections such as those just cited, the latter should not have been mentioned. If one of the coins showing an Ionic capital with a light upon it truly represents a lighthouse, it would confirm our inferences from the literary evidence (2).

Whether or not the city actually touched the Ionian (3) sea is uncertain, but the present tendency is to place it nearer the sea northward from Castelvetera, or the Modern Caulonia (4), toward Monasterace or the promontory of Cocinthus, the present Cape Stilo (5). It was in this region that in 1891, during the construction of a lighthouse, the walls of a Greek structure were discovered which Orsi (6) believes belonged to

1. Thuc., VII, 25.
2. F. Carellius: Num. Ital. Vet., 28.
3. J. Eckhel: D. Num. Vet., I, 167; E. Meyer: Gesch. d. Altertums, II, π 307.
4. Pauly in Pauly's Real-Ency., II, 226.
5. K. Miller: Itin. Romana, 359; H. Kiepert: Ital. Inferior XIX; Murray's Handy Class maps, Ital. & Sic.; De-Vit: Tot. Lat. Onomasticon II, 189; K. Beloch: Griech. Gesch., I, 176 (first ed.).
6. P. Orsi, Notizie degli Scavi, 1891, 67-68.

a little chapel for sailors in the territory of ancient Caulonia which was no doubt very extensive, since no other Greek colonies were situated close by, and the city controlled the lumber output of the Sila forest (1). In a short time we may know the exact site of the city, for in 1891, when a column was discovered near the station of Stilo-Monasterace, Orsi said that he believed Caulonia was near this place, although he was uncertain of its exact location (2). According to the *Messaggero* of May 23, 1911 (3), however, Orsi after a long campaign of excavations reported that he had brought to light a Greek temple (4) near Monasterace and the remains of the ancient city of Caulonia (5).

1. G. Grote: *A Hist. of Gr.*, X, 294, believes that Caulonia and Hipponium between them controlled the whole breadth of the Calabrian peninsula.
2. P. Orsi, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1891, 72.
3. *Boll. dell' assoc. Arch.* I, 1911, 169.
4. S. Whibley: *The Year's Work in Class. Studies*, 1911, 19; K. Baedeker: *Unter-Ital.*, 260.
5. Dr. Orsi was expecting to publish a large volume upon his excavations at this site in February 1916, but although he promised to send a copy of the work to this University as soon as it appeared, nothing has been heard from it to date.

III. FOUNDING.

The colony of Caulonia was founded probably not long after the settlement of Croton (710 B.C.) (1), at the beginning of the seventh century (2). Vergil (3) was only using a poetic license when he referred to its existence at the time of the Trojan war (4).

Nothing is known concerning the occasion of its founding. Scylax and Polybius merely mention it as one of the Greek cities in southern Italy (5). It was certainly settled by the Achaeans (6) but whether they came direct from Greece or from Croton is a disputed question (7). Strabo and Pausanias state that the colonists came from Greece, the latter even giving the name of their leader (8).

1. E. Shuckburgh: Hist. of Rome to the Battle of Actium, 16; B. Head: Hist. Num.², 94.
2. Raoul-Rochette: Acad. d. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres, XIV, 187; K. Beloch: Griech. Gesch., ed. 2, I, 2, 230.
3. Verg., *Aen.*, III, 553.
4. E. Bunbury, Smith's Dict. of Gk. & Rom. Geog.
5. Scylax, 13 - Λοκροὶ, Καυλωνία, Κροτων, Λακύνιον ἕρπον Ἥρας ἩΤΛ.
Polyb., X, 1 - ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων Ῥήγιον καὶ Καυλωνία καὶ Λοκροὶ καὶ Κρότων, ἐπεὶ δὲ Μεταπόντιον καὶ Θούριον ταύτην ἐπέχουσιν τὴν παραλίαν.
6. See the ancient authorities quoted in Note 8 below. Compare also J. Eckhel: D. Num. Vet., I, 167; B. Head: Hist. Num.², 92; Lübker's Reallex. 543; K. Baedeker: Unter-Ital., 260; P. Cläverius: Ital. Ant., Bk. IV, 15, 38; W. Emmius: Vetus Graecia (Thes. IV, 182, A); K. Mannert: Geog. v. Ital., IX, 194.
7. J. Bury: A Hist. of Gr., 103; A. Forbiger: Handbuch der Alt. Geog., III, 514; K. Miller: Itin. Rom., 359; E. Meyer: Gesch. d. Altertums, II, π 307; H. Nissen: Ital. Landeskunde, II, 2, 950; Streber, Abhandl. der Phil.-Philol. Classe der bayer. Akad., II, 725.
8. Strab., VI, 261., Ἀχαιῶν κτίσμα Καυλωνία. Paus., VI, 3, 12 Καυλωνία δὲ ἀπὸ Κίσθης μὲν ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ Ἀχαιῶν, οἰκιστὴς δὲ ἐγένετο αὐτῆς Τύφων Αἰγυεύς.

Scymnus, Solinus, Stephanus, and the Etymologicum Magnum, however, make Croton the mother state (1). Since Croton was an Achæan colony, many accept the latter view (2). Raoul-Rochette even suggests in one place that Caulonia was the oldest of the colonies of Croton (3).

There have been a few attempts to reconcile these opposing views. If Croton founded Caulonia, she might have called in additional colonists from the mother country (4). Or does the close relationship between the cities point to a certain mastery of the more powerful neighbor (5) which led to the story that Croton was the mother city? On the other hand if the Achæans from Greece first settled Caulonia, they might have received a number of inhabitants from Croton (6), or men of Croton

1. Scymn., 319. ἐκ τοῦ Κρότωνος ἥτις ἔσχ' ἀποκλῆαν.
Solin., 34.5 ... Cauloniam et Terinam a Crotiensibus (sc. conditas esse); Steph. Byz., s.v. Καυλωνία: Ἀχῶν δὲ ἐπόλισαν Κροτωνιάτας.
Etym. Mag., 170.9 πόλις ὑπὸ Κροτωνιάτων κτισθεῖσα.
2. Heyne, opusc. acad., II, 195 was convinced that "Coloniae Crotoniatarum fuere Terina tum Caulonia et Pandosia". See also L. Grasberger: Studies zu den griechischen Ortsnamen, 198; K. Hermann: Lehrb. der griech. Ant., I, π 80; H. Kiepert: Lehrb. der Alten Geog., 397; E. Niebuhr: Röm. Gesch., I, π 177.
3. Raoul-Rochette: Hist. Crit. de L'Etablissement des Colonies grecques, III, 189.
4. E. Bunbury in Smith's Dict. of Gk. & Rom. Geog.; E. Shuckburgh: Hist. of Rome to the Battle of Actium, 16.
5. Poppo, Thuc., VII. 25, p. 551.
6. G. Rathgeber, Annal. dell' Inst., 1848, 169; E. Babelon: Traité des Mon. grecques et rom., I, col. 1459.

might have rebuilt the city (1). It would have been very easy for the Achaeans in their search for a new home to stop for some time at Croton and add new colonists to their number (2).

Two mistaken views have been offered concerning the founding of the city. Mazochius tried to prove from the legends on the coins that the founders of the city were not Achaeans but Phoenicians. His theory has been rejected by Eckhel upon good grounds (3). Servius, following Hyginus, said that Caulonia was founded by the Locrians (4). This error is doubtless due to the fact that when Dionysius destroyed the city, he gave its land to the Locrians who probably helped to rebuild the place (5).

As little is known of the leader of the Achaean colonists as of the settlers themselves. Pausanias mentioned

1. Raoul-Rochette: *Hist. Crit.-de l' Etablissement des Col. grecques*, III, 189.
2. A. Hands: *Coins of Mag. Gr.*, 181.
3. J. Eckhel: *D. Num. Vet.*, I, 168; Compare L. Grasberger: *Studien zu den griechischen Ortsnamen*, 199.
4. *Serv.*, *Verg.*, *Aen.*, III, 553 - In quo oppidum fuit a Locris conditum, quod Secundum Hyginum, qui scripsit de situ urbium Italicarum, olim non est. E. Gerhard: *Arch. Zeit.*, 1848, 124 suggests the emendation - olim non Aulon nominatum est (not noted in the apparatus criticus of Thilos edition).
5. F. Gerlach: *Pythagoras*, 38; G. Rathgeber, *Annal. dell' Inst.*, 171; Raoul-Rochette: *Hist. Crit. de l' Etabl. des Colon. grecques*, III, 191; IV, 85.

Typhon of Aegium as the leader (1). This statement is accepted by some who believe that the colonists came direct from Greece (2). If the theory suggested by Hands (3), that Caulonia (in the form Aulonia) comes from the word to blow, were accepted, the name Typhon (the whirlwind) would appear to be altogether mythical. Furthermore it does not seem to have been based upon generally accepted records, because Servius (4), following a common custom, produced an eponymous oecist, Caulos, the son of Chita the Amazon, as the founder of the city. As far as Caulos himself is concerned the etymological character of the name betrays its source, but what an Amazon, Chita, may have to do with the city legends, remains quite unknown. Stephanus (5) probably tried to derive Caulonia from Caulos on the analogy of Metapontum from

1. Paus., VI, 3, 12. This is certainly a most extraordinary name for an historical personage, and can hardly be accepted in view of the suspicion attaching to oecists in general.
2. G. Rathgeber, Annal. dell' Inst., 1848, 169; E. Babelon: Traité des mon. grecques et rom., I, col. 1459.
3. A. Hands: Coins of Mag. Gr., 180.
4. Serv., Verg. Aen., III, 553. Alti a Caulo, Clitae Amazonis filio, conditum tradunt.
5. St. Byz., s.v. Κελευρία.

from Metabus, but his text is corrupt at this point (1). If Gerhard's emendation (2) were accepted, Stephanus might have derived Aulonia from Aulon. In turn Aulon might come from αὖ and be identical in meaning with Typhon (3). It is not impossible that Caulonia may have preserved the memory of her windy character and of her mythical founders upon her coins. In view, however, of the fact that the two ancient authorities which discuss the name, have corrupt texts, it seems impossible to reach any certain conclusion regarding the original name of the town and personality of the founder.

1. Raoul-Rochette: Hist. Crit. de l' Etab. des Colonies Grecques, III, 189.
2. E. Gerhard, Arch. Zeit. (1848), 123 rejects Panofka's emendation Καυλῶνος and reads ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ Αἰαλῶνος [Αἰαλῶνις καὶ] ὕστερον μετὰ τὸν ἀσθὲν Καυλῶνιαν.
3. P. Gardner: The Types of Gk. Coins, 85.

IV. HISTORY.

Caulonia's location in the fruitful region (1) not far from the Sila forest (2), and her rather abundant silver coinage would lead one to believe that she was a rich and prosperous city. But there is no written record of the flourishing commercial days of Caulonia. Her history is the history of war and destruction. Probably she carried on an extensive trade from her own port or, according to Polybius (3), through Tarentum, as a center of exchange between Sicily, Greece, and her colonies. Her commerce probably was furthered by a monetary agreement, as the resemblance between her coins and those of Metapontum, Croton, Sybaris, Siris, Pyxus, Laus, Rhegium, Tarentum, etc., would indicate (4).

1. G. Barrius: De Antiq. et Situ Cal., III (Thes. XXX, 113, A-B) - Fiunt Cauloniae vina bonitate mirifica, item olea et mella clara, et caseus et hippaces laudatissimi et figlini opera non vulgaria. Fit gossypium et sesama, nascuntur cappares, provenit terebinthus, nascitur gypsum, magnesia lapis, rubrica fabrilis, item sal nativum, plumbum et aurum. Extant et sylvae ad domorum tigna et ad navigiorum fabricam aptae, item sylvae glandiferae et castaneta porcis alendis et pabulis opportuna. Fiunt venationes uberes aprorum, cervorum et aliorum sylvestrium animalium. Thuc., VII, 25, mentions also ship lumber.
2. Classen, Thuc., VII, 25, 2. n.9; F. Müller, Thuc., VII, 25, p.58.
3. Polyb., X, 1 - ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σικελίας καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος φερόμενους ἐπὶ τινὰ τόπον τῶν προειρημένων, κατὰ κράτην ὁρμεῖν ἐν τοῖς τῶν Ταρραγγίων λιμένοι, καὶ τὰς ἀρμύεις καὶ τὰς οἰκονομίας πρὸς πάντας τοὺς κατέχοντας ταύτην τὴν πλευρὰν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν ταύτῃ πολεῖσθαι τῇ πόλει.
4. T. Mommsen: Gesch. d. Röm. Münz., 106; P. Gardner: The Types of Gk. Coins, 31; G. MacDonald: Cat. of Gk. Coins in the Hunt Col., 89; Zeit. f. Num. v. XXVII, (1909), 82.

Whether this was a league of Achaean and Dorian cities uninfluenced by changing political conditions, as Gardner thinks, is uncertain. There are some who think that the coins simply show a strong Pythagorean influence (1). Although Locri did not use this coinage, it can not be ascribed to any opposition to the Pythagorean doctrines, for probably no money was coined at Locri before the middle of the fourth century (2). The old flat type of coinage seems to have been in existence before Pythagoras came to Italy (3), and it was not discontinued for at least four (4), and possibly more than twenty years (5), after the traditional date of the overthrow of the brotherhood (504 B.C.). And certainly, if we accept the view now most widely held, that the revolution did not take place until the middle of the fifth century, it is quite clear that Pythagoreanism as such had no direct effect upon the coinage. Although the Pythagorean influence was strong in Magna Graecia, it can easily be overestimated.

Pythagoras came to Croton (6) after the subjugation of Ionia by the Persians, shortly after the middle of the sixth century B. C., perhaps because of the commercial relationship between the Asiatic and the Italian Greeks (7). Here he estab-

1. A. Hands: Coins of Mag. Gr., 159-160.
2. E. Babelon: *Traité des Monn. greques et rom.*, col. 1459, n.2.
3. B. Head: *Hist. Num.* 2, 92.
4. G. Macdonald: *Coin Types*, 132.
5. A. Hands: Coins of Mag. Gr., 181; B. Head: *Hist. Num.*, 2, 92.
6. Diog. Laert., VIII, 1, 3.
7. G. Grote: *A Hist. of Gr.*, IV, 324.

lished a secret religious brotherhood which soon gained political ascendancy. Similar brotherhoods were established in most of the neighboring colonies, and Magna Graecia now reached the height of her prosperity. It is uncertain what caused the overthrow of the Pythagoreans, perhaps, as Hands thinks, commercial jealousy (1). Amid so many conflicting opinions concerning the life and works of Pythagoras at least one thing is agreed upon: namely, that at Croton the enemies of the order destroyed many of the members by burning the building in which they were assembled (2). Similar disturbances took place in all of the cities where the sect had made progress (3). It is at this point that the recorded history of Caulonia begins.

Jamblicus mentions Caulonia as one of the cities in which the order had a strong influence and which was thrown into confusion by its violent suppression (4). Porphyrius confirms

1. A. Hands: Coins of Mag. Gr., 159.
 2. G. Grote: A Hist. of Gr. IV, 335, n.2; Ed. Meyer: Gesch.d. Alt., III, π 371.
 3. Polyb., II, 39 - καθ' οὓς γὰρ καιροὺς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τόποις κατὰ τὰ συνέδρια τῶν Πυθαγορείων, μετὰ ταῦτα γενομένου κινήματος δλοσχεροῦς περὶ τὰς πολιτείας, κτλ.
 4. Jambl., De Pyth. Vit., XXVIII, 143 - βουλευμένου δέ τινος ἀκούειν, οὐκ ἔφη πω λείπειν, πρὶν ἢ σημερινόν τι φανῇ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγένετο ἐν Καυλωνίᾳ ἡ λευκὴ ἄσκητος.
- Ibid., XXXV, 262 - πολλῶν δὲ κακῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ὄντων, εἰς κρίσιν προβληθέντων τῶν φύγάδων καὶ τρισὶ πόλεσι τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς παράδοθείσης, Ταραντίνους, Μεταποντίνους, Καυλωνιάταις, ἔδοξε τοῖς πεμφθεσιν ἐπὶ τὴν γινώμην ἀργύριον λαβούσιν, ὥς ἐν τοῖς τῶν Κροτωνιατῶν εἰσπρατήμασιν ἀναγέγραπται, φεύγειν τοὺς αἰτίους.

the statement, even adding that Pythagoras stopped at Caulonia in his flight (1). But authorities are divided upon the history of Pythagoras. Some say that he was burnt in the temple at Croton, others that he was absent when the fire took place, and others that he died soon afterward in exile, while it is more probable that he died in peace many years before the outbreak of the revolution so disastrous to his followers (2). Porphyrius himself gives more than one tradition (3) so that it would be unwarranted to accept without reserve his statement about Caulonia.

Polybius also described the murder, revolutionary warfare, and constitutional disturbances which arose at this time. Among the Greek states attempting to settle these disorders, the intervention of the Achaeans was preferred. Then follows a very puzzling account of a union formed soon afterward by Croton, Sybaris and Caulonia under Achaean influence, with a temple to Zeus Homorios and a place for meetings and common councils. These cities adopted (sic) the laws, customs, and constitution of the Achaeans which they observed until forced

1. Porph., De Vit. Pyth. 56 - Πυθαγόραν δὲ καὶ τοὺς μέγιστον τῶν φίλων τὸ πρῶτον εἰς Καυλωνίαν τὸν δόμον σπένθησαν, ἐκείθεν δὲ πάντες εἰς Λοκροῖα.
2. G. Grote: A Hist. of Gr., IV, 335; For the view last expressed see Ed. Meyer, Gesch. d. Alt., II, π 503.
3. P. Corssen, Philol., vol. LXXI (1912), 334.

to relinquish them by Dionysius and the neighboring barbarians (1).

It was not an uncommon occurrence for the mother country to aid in putting down a disturbance. In this instance Achaea probably restored her colonies to the governments which they had had before the Pythagorean domination. The change must have been very marked for Polybius instead of speaking of a return to the Achaean form of government said that the colonies "adopted" the laws and customs of the Achaeans (2).

The statement concerning the union of Croton, Sybaris, and Caulonia can not be accepted as referring to the older Sybaris, for that city had been destroyed (3) about 510, some time before the dissolution of the Pythagoreans. (4). There is even a tradition that the war between Croton and Sybaris was influenced by Pythagoras when he persuaded Croton not to return the exiles demanded by Sybaris (5). There is also a tradition that the

1. Polyb., II, 39 - ἐν οἷς καιροῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πλείστων μερῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρεσβενόντων ἐπὶ τὰς διαλύσεις, Ἀχαιοὶς καὶ τῇ τούτῃ πίστει συν-εχρήσαντο πρὸς τὴν τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἐξαγωγήν. οὐ μόνον δὲ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καιροὺς ἀνεδέξαντο τὴν αἴρεσιν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τινὰς χρόνους ὁλοσχερῶς ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ μιμηταὶ γέεσθαι τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῶν. παρακαλέσαντες γὰρ σφᾶς καὶ συμφρονήσαντες Κροτωνιάται, Συβαρίται, Καυλωνιάται, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέδειξαν Διὸς Ὀμπορίου κοινὸν ἱερὸν καὶ τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τὰς τε συνόδους καὶ τὰ διαβούλια συνετέλουν, δεύτερον τοὺς ἔθισμούς καὶ νόμους ἐκλαβόντες τοὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἐπεβάλλοντο χρῆσθαι καὶ διοικεῖν κατὰ τούτους τὴν πολιτείαν. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Διονυσίου Συρακοσίου δυναστείας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τῶν Περικλοῦκτων βαρβάρων ἐπικρατείας ἐμποδισθέντες οὐχ ἐκουσίως ἀλλὰ κατ' ἀνάγκην αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν.

2. K. O. Müller: Gesch. hell. Stämme und Städte, III, IX, 15 accepts the ^{account of} Polybius, and believes that when the colonies accepted the Achaean government, they gave up their Doric customs. G. Grote: A Hist. of Gr., IV, 336, n.1, very properly questions the existence of specifically Doric customs as distinct from Achaean at Caulonia.

3. Herodotus, V, 44 f., 47; Strabo, VI, 263; Scymn., 357-360.

4. On the date see Ed. Meyer: Gesch. d. Alt., II, 501 A.

5. G. Grote: A Hist. of Gr., IV, 338.

opposition of the Pythagoreans to the allotment of the Sybaritan territory (1) furnished a pretext for the overthrow of their power (2). Although Herodotus does not mention the Pythagoreans in connection with this war, they were certainly not overthrown until the Krathis had been turned from its course and the Sybaritan lands laid waste not to be re-settled for almost half a century by the colony of Thurii (3).

The union of Croton, Sybaris, and Caulonia must either refer to an earlier date, or more probably to some later league against the barbarians. Heyne put the date of the alliance a little after Ol. 80, 3, and suggested Thurii in the place of Sybaris (4). Grote objected to this suggestion, for he did not think that the violent disorder described by Polybius could have lasted so long. But Polybius did not exactly connect this ^{union} with the Pythagorean disturbance. After describing the Achaean intervention, he said, "Nor was this the only occasion on which they displayed this preference. For shortly afterwards there was a general movement among them to adopt the model of the Achaean constitution". There is no way of telling how shortly afterwards this union was formed. He said that it was maintained until the intervention of Dionysius and the barbarians, perhaps he was referring to a union formed against them.

1. Jambl., *De Pyth. Vit.*, XXXV, 255.

2. G. Grote: *A. Hist. of Gr.*, IV, 334.

3. E. Meyer: *Gesch. d. Alterums*, V, π 804 says that soon after the federation of Sybaris, Croton, and Caulonia, Thurii, Elea and perhaps Metapontum entered the union. He refers, of course, to the second Sybaris, which stood on the banks of the Traeis.

4. C. Heyne, *Opuc. Acad.*, II, 189, 204.

In the meantime Caulonia probably enjoyed some years of prosperity under a more democratic government with increased intercommunication (1).

During the war between Athens and Syracuse (ca. 415-413), Caulonia must have been upon the side of Athens, for Thucydides mentions the destruction by the Syracusans of the ship lumber which was lying ready for the Athenians in the territory of Caulonia (2).

But after the extinction of the older Sybaris which had been a powerful barrier against the inland tribes, not long after the founding of Thurii, the aggression of the Lucanians began to disturb the Greek cities in the north, while in the south Dionysius was planning an expedition against them. In 393, according to Diodorus, the Italian Greeks formed a league to protect themselves against these two foes (3). It is to this union that some think Polybius referred (4). Instead of mentioning Sybaris Hands says that Croton, Caulonia and Thurii, following Heyne in substituting Thurii for Sybaris, made a league with their head-

1. A. Hands: Coins of Mag. Gr., 181.

2. Thuc., VII, 25 - καὶ ξύλα ναυπηγήσιμα ἐν τῇ Κανλωνιάτῃς κατέκαυσαν, ἃ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐτοῖμα ἦν.

E. Freeman: Gesch. Sicil., III, 254; A. Hands: Coins of Mag. Gr., 181.

3. Diod., XIV, 91 - οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατοικοῦντες Ἕλληνες ξέρων μὲν μέχρι τῆς ἑαυτῶν χώρας προβαίνονσαν τὴν Διονυσίου πλεονεξίαν, σύμμαχοί τε αὐτῶν πρὸς ἄλλήλους ἐποίησαντο καὶ συνέδριον ἐγκατέσχευον. ἡλπίσαν γὰρ τὸν Διονύσιον ὥς οὕτως ἔμυρεσθαι καὶ τοῖς παρικοῦσι Λευκανῶν ἀντιτάξασθαι· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι τότε διεπολέμουσι πρὸς αὐτούς.

4. P. Corssen, Philol., v. LXXI (1912), 345; Lübker's Reallex., 543 dates the union at the beginning of the fourth century, having in mind, doubtless, Sybaris on the Traeis.

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quarters in the Temple of Zeus Homorios in Croton, which he thinks was erected "in imitation of that at Aegeira in Achaia". Rhegium and Tarentum joined the federation which, to show its purpose, struck coins of Hercules strangling two serpents, which represented Dionysius and the Lucanians (1). Hands thinks that the city may have been conquered by Lucanians before its ruin by Dionysius, dating the end of its prosperity about 400 (2).

Dionysius I. took the field against the Italian cities in 389 BC.⁽³⁾ His forces numbered over 20,000 foot, about 3,000 horse, forty war ships, and about three hundred transports. After putting in chains the crews of the ten ships which his brother had just taken at Rhegium, he marched upon Caulonia, surrounded and set siege to it with his artillery (4). Polyaeus narrates an amusing little incident which took place during the siege. Aristides

1. A. Hands: Coins of Mag. Gr., 160.
2. Ibid., 181-185. This inference he bases upon the assumption that what all others take to be a monogram on certain coins, is actually a fibula, and that this fibula presupposes Lucanian influence, which could have been brought about only by conquest. The supposed basis of fact is most uncertain, and the conclusions hazardous in the extreme.
3. Justin., XX. 5.
4. Diod., XIV, 103. αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν τὴν δύναμιν εἰς Καυλωνίαν, περιστρατοπέδευσε τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς προσερίσας πυκρὰς προσβολὰς ἐποίητο.
G. Grote: A Hist. of Gr., X, 291; J.B. Bury: A Hist. of Gr., 659.

of Elea, a person otherwise unknown, sailed against Dionysius with twelve triremes. The latter manned fifteen ships and started in pursuit. But as night drew on, Aristides commanded lights to be floated upon the sea toward which Dionysius sailed while Aristides with lights extinguished came safely into port (1).

When Croton realized the danger that was threatening, she quickly collected a large force of men including allies and exiles from Syracuse, to the number of 25,000 foot and 2,000 horse (2). The federal army under Heloris, one of the exiles, did not march straight to Caulonia but stopped near the river Elleporus (3). When Heloris, who was ignorant of the country, was advancing with five hundred chosen soldiers, he unexpectedly met the troops of Dionysius in battle array (4). Although he fought bravely, when the main body of his troops for which he had immediately sent arrived, he had been defeated and most of his detachment slain.

- Ἀριστείδης Ἐλεάτης Διονυσίῳ πολιορκούντι Κανλιωνίαν
1. Polyæn., VI, 11. ἐπέπλευμετὰ δώδεκα τριήρων. ὁ δὲ συνιδὼν ἐπαγλήθη πέντε καὶ δέκα καὶ πλεῖστας. Ἀριστείδης ὑποστρέψας ὑποχωρεῖ καὶ νυκτὸς γενομένης ἐπέλευσε καὶ αὐτοὺς λαμπτήρας, οἷς αἱ τοῦ Διονυσίου νῆες ἔποντο. μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ τοὺς καθελόντες ἑτέροισι καθήκαν ἐς τὴν θάλατταν φέλλοις μεγάλοις ἐφηρμοσμένους καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς ἐς τὸ πλάγιον ἐπιστρέψαντες ἐθόσαν ἐς τὴν Κανλιωνίαν καταπλεύσαντες τὸν περὶ Διονυσίον πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν φέλλων αὐγὴν πληρωμένων.
 2. Ed. Meyer: Gesch.d.Alt., III, π 806. J.B. Bury: A Hist. of Gr., 659, differs from Diodorus in mentioning only 15,000 foot.
 3. Diod. XIV. 103 - ἡσδὲ πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι παρεγενήθησαν εἰς Κρότωνα, κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν Ἑλωρίς διατάξας ὥρμησε μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ Κανλιωνίας.
 4. Polyb., I, 6 - πρῶτος Διονυσίος τῇ περὶ τὸν Ἐλλέπορον ποταμὸν μάχῃ γενικηκώς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ἕλληνας ἐπολιόρει Ῥήγιον.
4. Diod., XIV, 104.

The remainder of the army coming up in disorder was quickly routed and forced to take refuge on a hill. But because of the lack of water it soon surrendered and begged for ransom. Dionysius is said to have stood at the foot of the hill and to have counted with his wand the ten thousand captives as they filed past him. Contrary to the custom of the age and of the tyrant, Dionysius dismissed them without a ransom. This act of generosity won its purpose, for it enabled him to make peace with many states who bestowed upon him great praise and crowns of gold (1).

Dionysius was now free to turn his attention to Caulonia, Hipponion, and Rhegium which stood in the way of his plans. The latter was let off for the time being with a heavy tribute. Caulonia was not so fortunate. In 389 her citizens were compelled to surrender (2), their city destroyed, their lands given to the Locrians, the allies of Dionysius, and they themselves removed to Syracuse where they received citizenship and an immunity for five years (3). The next year Hipponion

1. Diod. XV --- καὶ σχεδὸν τοῦτ' ἔδοξε πράττειν ἐν τῷ γῆν κάλλιστον.
J. B. Bury: A Hist. of Gr., 660.
2. Diod., XIV, 106; B. Head: Hist. Num., 92; Lübker's Reallex., 543; Ed. Meyer: Gesch.d.Alt., V, § 806; B. Niese: Gesch.der griech. und maked. Staaten, I, 425.
3. Diod. XIV. 106. ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος τριακόνσια τέλματα πραγόμενος καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπ' αὐτὰς παραλαβὼν οὕτως ἐβδόμηκοντα, προσέταξεν ἑκατὸν δμήρους δοῦναι. δοῦντων δὲ πάντων ἀρέευνεν ἐπὶ Κανλιῶν. ταύτης δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν Συρακούσῃς μετώκισε, καὶ πολιτείας δὸς πέντε ἔτη συνεχώρησεν ἀτελεῖς εἶναι. τὴν δὲ πόλιν καταστῆκεν τοῖς Λοκροῖς τῆς χώρας τῶν Κανλιῶν ἐδωρήσατο.
- J. B. Bury: A Hist. of Gr., 660; E. Freeman: The Story of Sicily, 187; G. Grote: A Hist. of Gr., X, 294.

suffered a similar fate (1).

Pausanias indirectly bears witness to this transference of citizens. In speaking of Dicon, the noted runner, he said that when a youth he proclaimed himself a citizen of Caulonia, but later for pay he called himself a Syracusan (2). It was not, however, until 384 B.C. that he called himself a Syracusan, which shows that it was not due to bribery but because he had been removed to Syracuse after the destruction of Caulonia (3).

It is probably to this transference of citizens that Strabo referred when he said that after the destruction of Caulonia by the barbarians, the citizens went to Sicily where they founded a new Caulonia (4). There are some who think Strabo referred to a later event (5), perhaps to the war of Pyrrhus (6), although there is no indication in any

1. Diod. XIV. 107 - τούτων δὲ τῆν ἀρχὴν παρεληφότεν, Διορύσιος ὁ τῶν Συρακούσων δυνάστης πορευθεὶς εἰς Ἰππώνιον μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, τοὺς καὶ κατοικοῦν τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ μετώκισεν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας, τὴν δὲ πόλιν κατασκάψας (τοὺς Λοκροὺς) προσεμέρισε τὴν χώραν.
2. Paus., VI, 3, 12.
3. Hitzig-Blümner; Paus., VI, 3, 12, p.544; G. Grote: A Hist. of Gr., X, 305; H. Förster: Die Bieger in den Olymp. Spielen, 24.
4. Strabo, VI, 261 - ἔστι δ' ἔρημος· οἱ γὰρ ἔχοντες εἰς Σικελίαν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐξέπεσον καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ Καυλωνίαν ἐκτίσαν.
5. C. Heyne, Opusc. Acad., II, 204.
6. E. Bunbury in Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Roman Geog.; A. Holm: Gesch. De-Vit: Tot. Lat. Onomasticon, II, 188.
Sicil. im Altertum, II, 439;

other ancient writer that a transfer of citizens took place at that time. On the other hand both Diodorus and Pausanias show that such an event took place after the wars of Dionysius. If a Caulonia ever existed in Sicily, it is possible that some of the transferred citizens may have tired of the despotism of Dionysius and left Syracuse to found a new Caulonia. Stephanus substantiates the statement of Strabo, when he says that there was another Caulonia in Sicily (1). There is no record in the early geographers or in any of the other ancient historians of such a city. But later geographers trying to identify the city mentioned by Strabo and Stephanus, have placed it in the neighborhood of Sommatino and Ravanuso on the site of the present Caltanissetta or the Calloniana (2) mentioned in the Itinerarium Antonini (3).

1. Steph. Byz., s.v. *Καυλωνία*: ἑστὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ.
E. Poppo, Thuc., VII, p.551, n.9. Ortellius, here referred to, supposes that Stephanus was calling southern Italy Sicily, as he sometimes did, but Poppo does not think that he would have mentioned so many in the same region. Pinedo and Berkelius, Annotations on St. Byz., III, 899 believe that there was no Caulonia in Sicily. Raoul-Rochette, Hist. Crit. de L'Établissement des Colonies Grecques, III, 192, says that there is a Caulonia in Sicily; IV, 84, however, he retracts this statement. Sambon: Recherches, 188 thinks the triquetre may have been coined in the Sicilian Caulonia but Holm, La Triquetra, 25, puts the date of the triquetra before 400 thus overthrowing Sambon's theory. Clüverius: Ital. Antiq., IV, XV, 39.
2. Groskurd: Strabo VI, 261, p.249; A. Holm: Gesch. Sicil. in Altertum, II, 439; De-Vit: Tot. Lat. Onomasticon II, 76, 188; Muller, Strab. Geog. VI, 261, p.769; Pauly: Real-Ency. II, 226; J. Schubring, Rhein. Mus. für Philol., n.s., XXVIII, 117.
3. K. Miller: Itin. Rom., LVII - Itinerarium Antonini 94 Item a Catina Agrigentum mansionibus nunc institutis 91 sic, Capitonianis 24 mill., Philosophianis 21, Callonianis 21, Corconianis 12, 95 Agrigentum 13; Item ab Agrigentum per maritima loca Syracusis 137.

Caulonia seems to have been almost thoroughly destroyed, and judging from the coins it only partially recovered, for perhaps few coins if any come from a later period (1). The city was soon rebuilt although it is not known by whom (2). Probably, after the most influential inhabitants had been transferred to Syracuse, the poorer citizens and slaves (3) with additional colonists from the Locrians, to whose territory their land had been annexed, rebuilt the city. There has been found near the supposed site of Caulonia a tile with the inscription ΓΝΑΘΙΟΞ [Σ] (4), an unusual name which, however, is found in two Locrian inscriptions (5). This coincidence hardly demonstrates anything and yet it might point to a Locrian occupation of this territory. The share which the Locrians had in the re-establishment of Caulonia caused Servius to make the mistake of saying that the city was founded by them (6). Perhaps his source merely referred to the rebuilding and not to the founding (7). The same fact of possession by the Locrians, or even a possible rebuilding of the city by them doubtless led Stephanus to commit the error of stating that there was a Locrian Caulonia (8).

1. Raoul-Rochette, Mémoires de L'Inst. Royal de France, Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres, XIV, 1845, 189 corrects Eckhel for extending the coinage to 274 B.C.
2. H. Nissen: Ital. Landeskunde, II, 2, 950.
3. G. Grote: A Hist. of Gr., X, 294.
4. P. Orsi, Notizie degli Scavi, 1891, 69.
5. G. Kaibel: Inscr. Gr., Sicil., et Ital., 2401-1 A. Locris reperta; b. Locris Rhegium translata in museum. a. ΓΝΑΘΙΞ b. ΓΝΑΘΚ (Γράβις) 2401,2
2401-2 Locris Rhegium translata in museum. ΓΝΑΘΙΟΞ (Γράβις).
6. Serv., Verg. Aen., III, 553., A Locris conditum.
7. G. Rathgeber, Annali dell' Inst., 1848, 171, n.5.
8. Steph. Byz., s.v. Καυλωνία: ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη Λοκρῶν.
Pape, Wörterbuch der griech. Eigennamen, Ed.3, I, 639 accepts the statement of Stephanus, but Raoul-Rochette, Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres, 1845, 188 properly rejects it as a simple, but natural error.

When the rebuilding took place is not certain (1), but in 357 when Dion landed in Sicily, Timocrates sent a messenger to his brother-in-law, Dionysius the younger, who was at Caulonia (2). During the reign of Dionysius the ^{elder} younger, the Lucanians began to move south in great numbers. He tried in vain to keep them out of southern Italy. After forcing him to make a treaty with them in 384 (3), they seem to have over-run a large part of Magna Graecia, although there is no record of their coming into contact with Caulonia.

In 281 B. C. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, came to Magna Graecia at the request of Tarentum to save his countrymen from

1. Raoul-Rochette, Acad. des Inscr. 189, thinks Caulonia was re-established in Ol. 99, for one of its citizens was a victor in that year. He is in error, however, because it has just been noted that in this year Dicon proclaimed himself a Syracusan, a circumstance due to the destruction of Caulonia and the transference of its citizens.

2. Diod., XVI, 11 - Διονύσιος δὲ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καιροὺς αὐτὸς μὲν ἔτυχε διατρέβων περὶ Καυλωνίαν τῆς Ἰταλίας.

Plut., Dion, 26 - Τιμοκράτης... ἐκπέμπει κατὰ τάχος ἄγγελον τῷ Διονυσίῳ γράμματα κομίζοντα περὶ τῆς Δίωκος ἀφίξεως... εἰς Καυλωνίαν πρὸς Διονύσιον.

Raoul-Rochette, Hist. Crit. de L'Étab. Des Colonies Greques, III, 191; IV, 84, conjectures from Diodorus that Dionysius II. re-established the city, because Raoul-Rochette thinks Diodorus says that Dionysius inhabited the cities which he had built; and that must mean Caulonia, for Diodorus later says that he lived at Caulonia. There is no support for this conjecture. Diod. XVI, 10, 2, expressly states that the cities which Dionysius built were on the Adriatic. Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ μὲν τύραννος περὶ τὰς κροκτίστον πόλεις κατὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν διέτριβε μετὰ πολλῶν δυνάμεων.

Dionysius was dwelling neither in the cities on the Adriatic nor in Caulonia, but had gone there only a short time before Dion's arrival- (Plut. Dion. 26 - Μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐθάρρυκε τὸ συμβεβηκὸς αὐτομάτως περὶ τὴν ἀποδημίαν τοῦ Διονυσίου. Νεωστὶ γὰρ ἐκπεπλευκὺς ἐτύχχανεν ὀγδοήκοντα ναυὶν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν),

possibly, as the number of vessels would suggest, to head off Dion in his attempt to reach Syracuse or else to check the Lucanians, or possibly for both reasons at once.

3. Diod., XVI, 5.

Roman domination. Among several cities destroyed at this time was Caulonia. After its capture and demolition in 277 by the Campanians in the consular army, the chief allies of Rome (1), it probably remained in the hands of Rome (2) until the Punic Wars.

Caulonia must have had a very favorable location or it would not have been rebuilt so many times. Perhaps its destruction was never so complete as the early historians would lead one to believe. At least it seems to have been of some importance in the second Punic War in which it took the side of Hannibal. As a bait to draw the Carthaginian leader from Tarentum, Fabius, the Roman general, sent orders to the praefect of the garrison in Rhegium to overrun the territory of the Bruttians and attack Caulonia. This was a desperate force of men, consisting mostly of runaways who had been brought home by Marcellus from Agathyrna in Sicily and partly of fugitives from Bruttian. With nothing to

1. Paus., VI. 3, 12. Πύρρον δὲ τοῦ Αἰακίδου καὶ Ταραντίων ἐς τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον καταστάντων ἄλλαι τε τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεις ἐγένοντο αἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν ἀνάστατοι, κατέλαβε δὲ ἐς ἅπαν ἐργασθῆναι καὶ τὴν Καυλωνίαν ἐλάβον ὑπὸ Καμπανίων, οἳ Ῥωμαίοις μεγίστη τοῦ συμμαχικοῦ πόρρα ᾔσταντο.
J. Droysen: *Gesch. d. Hell.* 2, III, 1, 174; De-Vit: *Tot. Lat. Onomasticon*, II, 187; E. Bunbury in *Smith's Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Geog.*; J. Beloch; *Griech. Gesch.* III, 1, 666 says it was destroyed by the Mamertini, a name which Bruttian soldiers of fortune were fond of assuming. K. Mannert: *Geog. v. Ital.*, IX, 194; B. Niese: *Gesch. der griech. und maked. Staaten*, II, 49.
2. B. Niese, *op. cit.*, 63.

fear and everything to gain, this band of eight thousand pillaged the surrounding country and then fell upon Caulonia (1). Fabius had laid his plan well, for Hannibal immediately left Tarentum to march to the relief of Caulonia. At his approach the besiegers fearing that they would be overpowered, gave up their attack and sought a place of safety (2). But before Hannibal was recalled to Tarentum, he had forced them to surrender (3). Caulonia was saved for the time being, if Livy's account of the war at this point is accepted. Appian gives a very different account. He represents the Romans as attacking the allies of Hannibal, who instead of coming to their aid, retired to Thurii to escape the war in Bruttium. Then just before the surrender of Tarentum (209) at the time when Livy records the deliverance of Caulonia, Appian says that the Romans overran the territory of the Bruttiums and

1. Livy, XXVII, 12, 6 - (Fabius) hanc manum ad Bruttium primum agrum depopulandum duci iussit, inde ad Cauloniam urbem oppugnandum. Imperata non impigre solum, sed etiam avide executi direptis fugatisque cultoribus agri, ~~urbs~~ vi arcem oppugnabant. Plut., Fab. 22 - Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων ὁ Φάβιος περισπάσαι τὸν Ἀννίβαν τεχνάσων ἐπέστειλε τοὺς ἐν Ῥηγίῳ στρατιώταις τὴν Βρεττίαν καταδραμεῖν καὶ Καυλωνίαν ἐβελεῖν κατὰ κράτος στρατοπεδεύσαντας ὀκτακισχιλίους ὄντας, αὐτομόλους δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἐκ Σικελίας ὑπὸ Μαρκέλλου πεποιημένων καὶ τιμῶν τοὺς χρηστότατους καὶ ματ' ἐλαχίστους τῇ πόλει Λύπης καὶ βλάβης ἀπολαυνέμενους. Ἡ Ἀπίε γὰρ τοὺς προέμενος τῷ Ἀννίβαν καὶ δελεάσας ἀπάγει αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τarentos· ὃ καὶ συνέβαινεν. Ἐκθὺς γὰρ ἐκεῖ διώκων ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐκρούετο τὰς συνήκους.
B. Niese: Gesch. der griech. und maked. Staaten, II, 551;
H. Nissen: Ital. Landeskunde, II, 3, 950; O. Meltzer: Gesch. der Karthager, III, 505.
2. Livy, XXVII, 15, 8 - In Bruttiis interim Cauloniae oppugnatores sub adventum Hannibalis, ne opprimerentur in tumultum a praesenti impetu tutum, ad cetera inopem, concessere.
B. Niese: Gesch. der griech. u. maked. Staaten, II, 508.
3. Livy, XXVII, 16, 9 - Dum haec aguntur, Hannibal, eis qui Cauloniam obsidebant in deditionem acceptis, audita oppugnatione Tarenti dies noctesque cursim agmine acto, cum festinans ad opem ferendam captam urbem audisset.

took the city of Caulonia (1). Since Livy is usually considered to be a better authority than Appian and in this instance has the support of Plutarch that it was a band of fugitives who attacked Caulonia and not the Romans as Appian said, it would be better to accept Livy's account (2).

Since Caulonia is not mentioned again for over two centuries, some date its final ruin during this war (3). It must have eventually fallen into the hands of the Romans as did all of the other cities of southern Italy, but there is no record of the treatment which it received. It would be just as plausible to think that Caulonia gradually declined to a state of almost complete desolation. In the first century after Christ Strabo said that the city was deserted (4). Mela (5) merely mentioned the city. Pliny spoke of vestigia oppidi Caulonis (6).

1. Appian, Hann., VIII, 49 - καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς ἐκ Νουκερίας ἐκπεσόντας ἐν Ἀττικῇ μετὰ χιόνος ἐς τὴν τῆν Ἀννίβου ἐπὶ σπήλαιον ἐσβαλόντες, Αὐλωνίαν τε εἶλον καὶ τὴν Βρεττιώρην ἐπέτρεχον.
2. J. S. Reid, J. R. S., V, 1915, 101.
3. Bunbury, Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog. II, 575; K. Miller: Itin. Rom., 359; Pauly's Real Ency. II, 226.
4. Strabo VI, 261 - ἐστὶ δ' ἔρημος.
5. Pliny, III, 10, 15.
5. Mela, II, 4.

The inscription (1) enumerating Caulonia among the cities in whose territory Trajan had a new road constructed is spurious (2). About the middle of the second century Ptolemy composed the most scientific treatise on ancient geography replete with the name of even obscure localities, yet he does not mention Caulonia (3). In the fourth century, however, the Tabula Pentingeriana (ca. 360 A.D.) mentions it among the postal stations (4). The Anonymus Ravennas of about 670 A.D. (5) is the last work to mention its name (6). The Itinerarium Maritimum does not give Caulonia, but Orsi (7) believes that it substitutes Stilida (8) in its place. This

1. J. Gruteri Corpus Inscriptionum ex Recensione et cum Annotationibus J. G. Graevii, II, 199, 1. Gruterus ex Ursini schedis; J. Orelli: Inscr. Lat. I, 150. The essential features of the inscription are the following: EX AVCTORITATE II IMP. CAES. DIVI NERVAE FIL II NERVAE TRAIANI ... CVRAT. VIARVM ... CIPP. TERM ... II VIAM TRAIANAM. APP. PER BRUTTIOS II SALENTINOS. PEC. PUBL. CONTVLERE BRVTITIEI. SALENTINEI. OPPIDATIM. NAPETINEI. HIPPONIATEI. MAMERTINE II RHEGINEI. SCYLLACEI CAVLONIATAI ...
2. B. Borghesi, Annali dell' Inst., 1846, 343; T. Mommsen: C.I.L. X, 1, 1008* ; E. Bunbury in Smith's Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Geog.; Desjardius: Tab. Peut. s.v. Caulon..
3. H. Nissen: Ital. Landeskunde, II, 2, 950
4. Desjardins: Tab. Peut., 235; K. Miller: Itin. Rom., V.
5. K. Miller: Itin. Rom., XXVI.
6. Anon. Rav., Geog., 363, 7; 330, 5; Guido, 471, 4; 507, 26.
7. P. Orsi, Notizie degli Scavi, 1891, 68.
8. K. Miller: Itin. Rom. LXVII - A) Itinerarium Maritimum Quae loca tangere debeas cum navigare coeperis ex provincia Achaia per Siciliam ad Africam usque. 490 a Crotona Naus provinciae supra scriptae St. 100, a Naus Stilida provinciae supra scriptae St. 600, ab Stilida Zephyrio provinciae supra scriptae St. 400

continuation of the Itinerarium Antonini, was a private work for the use of the emperor, probably mentioning only the most important points. Surely at this time Stilida and not Caulonia dominated the promontory of Cocinthus, for Caulonia must have already disappeared in a destruction so complete that her exact site is still a matter of dispute. In the Middle Ages a town which arose in the valley of the Alaro, adopted the name of its famous predecessor in the same general region, though it certainly does not occupy the ancient site (1).

1. P. Orsi, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1909, 327.

EMINENT MEN.

Literature contains almost no record of the citizens who directed Caulonia through so many centuries of prosperity, of war, and of repeated destructions. Typhon and Caulos are the first recorded names, but one is mythological, and the other a pseudo-scientific fiction. During the next five centuries a number of noted generals entered her gates - Dionysius I, and Hannibal, perhaps also, ^{Pyrrhus.} Dionysius the younger also spent some time within the city. Porphyrius no doubt incorrectly made her the honored hostess of Pythagoras.

Jamblicus gives the names of five Pythagoreans (1) of Caulonia - Callibrotus, Dicon, Nastas, Drymon, and Xentas (2). The last three citizens are unknown but Callibrotus was the father of Dicon, the only great citizen of Caulonia about whom there is any record. Dicon lived a century after the overthrow of Pythagoras when the popularity of the order was low. If he were a member of the sect, that fact is not mentioned by those who give more information about his life than Jamblicus. This noted runner, son of Callibrotus or Callimbrotus, won five victories in the foot race at the Pythian games, three at the Isthmian, four at the Nemean,

1. Jambl., De Vit. Pyth., 267: Καυλωνιάται Καλλι~~β~~ροτος, Δίκων, Νάστας, Δρύμων, Ξέντας.
2. Keil, Anal. epigr., p. 182, suggests that xentas is a corruption of Xenias.

one for boys at Olympia in 392, and two for men in 384 (1). He received as many statues as he won victories and praise of his fifteen victories was sung by at least one poet (2). Pausanias (3) casts an unpleasant reflection upon his character by saying that it was for money that he proclaimed himself a Syracusan in Ol. 99. It is now clear that at this time Dicon had been transferred by Dionysius to Syracuse and Diodorus, Eusebius, and the Anthologia Graeca mention him only as a Syracusan (4). In Dicon one sees a type of citizen from the best days of Caulonia. It must have been men of such virility who enabled the city to rise repeatedly from repeated disasters.

1. H. Förster: Die Sieger in den olymp. Spielen, 23; J. Kirchner, P - W, V, 1, 581.

2. Anthol. Graeca (Jacobs), Vol. II, XIII, 15.

Εἰς Δίκων υἱὸς Καλλιμβρότου, αὐτὰρ ἐνίκων
τετράκισ ἐν Νεμέᾳ, δὲς Ολύμπια, πεντάκι Πυθοῖ,
τρὶς δ' Ἴσθμῳ· στεφανῶ δ' ἄστυ Συρακούσιων.

3. Paus., VI, 3, 12, Δίκων δέ ο Καλλιμβρότου πέντε μὲν Πυθοῖ

δρόμου νίκας, τρεῖς δὲ ἀκρίλετο Ἴσθμίων, τέσσαρας
δὲ ἐν Νεμέᾳ, καὶ Ὀλυμπιακὰς μίαν μὲν ἐν παισὶ, δύο
δὲ ἄλλας ἀνδρῶν· καὶ οἱ καὶ ἀνδριάκτες ἔσσι ταῖς νίκαις
εἰσὶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. παιδὶ μὲν δὲ ὅντι αὐτῷ Κανλωνιάτῃ,
καθάπερ γε καὶ ἦν, ἐπῆρξεν ἀναγορευθῆναι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ
τούτου Συρακούσιον αὐτὸν ἀνηγόρευσε ἐπὶ χρήμασι.

4. Diod., XV, 14, 1, ἐν Ῥώμῃ δ' ὕπατοι κατεστράθησαν Λεύκιος

Οὐαλέριος καὶ Αὔλος Μάλλιος, παρὰ δ' ἡλείοις
Ὀλυμπιάς ἤχθη ἐκκηροστικὴ ἐνάτη, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα
στάδιον Δίκων Συρακόσιος.

Eusebius Werke, Die Chronik aus dem armenischen, Übersetzt
von Dr. Joseph Kärst, V, 96.

V. INSTITUTIONS.

A. Political Organization.

Since all of the recorded history of Caulonia describes her military activities, it is impossible to ascertain much about her political organization. Poppo (1) observed that it was difficult to tell whether Caulonia was dominated by Croton or Locri or whether she made her own laws. Meyer thinks that she was independent (2), and his view is the most plausible. Mannert remarked very properly that the character of her coinage presupposed independence and free institutions (3). Niebuhr (4) believed that the Achaeans and their colonies long maintained intimate relations, a circumstance which might have caused them, as Mommsen (5) thought, to retain their distinctive character and to be less influenced from without. There is no record of an early dependence of Caulonia upon the mother country, although she must have had much the same laws and customs .

1. Poppo, Thuc., VII, 25, p.551.
2. E. Meyer: Gesch. d. Altertums, II, § 307.
3. K. Mannert: Geog. v. Ital., Ed. 2, IX, 2, 195.
4. B. Niebuhr: Röm. Gesch., I, § 177.
5. T. Mommsen: Röm. Gesch., I, 134.

In the sixth century under the Pythagoreans she probably had an oligarchical government something like that of Croton. After the overthrow of the order Hands (1) thinks the Pythagoreans became liberal conservatives and ruled amid the greatest prosperity, but offers no evidence for such a view. Caulonia probably return from the Pythagorean oligarchy to an earlier form of democratic government which she had inherited from the mother country. As noted above, this change in government doubtless influenced Polybius to say that the Achaean laws and customs were introduced, although there is no reason to think that they had not formerly been in existence in this Achaean colony. Mommsen (2) thought that Polybius' (3) description of the relationship between the cities of the mother country might be applied to her colonies. There are indications that the Italian Achaeans used the same type of money and that they had free intercommunication, some of them even having a common place of meeting and deliberation. The statement of Polybius (just quoted) that all the colonies had the same magistrates, counsellors and judges, doubtless means merely the constitutions of the different communities provided for the same number of such functionaries, with the same titles and functions, a statement which with our present knowledge we can not prove or disprove, but which there is no solid reason to doubt.

1. A. Hands: Coins of Mag. Gr., 159.

2. T. Mommsen: Röm. Gesch., I, 132.

3. Polyb., II, 37 - ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς καιροῖς ἔσχε προκοπὴν καὶ συντέλειαν τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ὥστε μὴ μόνογονυμachiκὴν καὶ φιλικὴν κοινωνίαν γεγενῆσθαι πραγμάτων περὶ αὐτοῦς, ἀλλὰ καὶ νόμοις χρῆσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ σταθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις καὶ κομισμασι, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις ἄρχουσι, βουλευταῖς, δικασταῖς.

B. Religion.

According to Jamblicus, Porphyrius and Polybius Caulonia was a warm adherent of the Pythagorean philosophy. The latter also represents her in company with Sybaris and Croton as erecting a temple to Zeus Homorios (1). Here Rathgeber (2) says one could suppose that the coinage was directed by the priest of Zeus or the supervisors of the place. This indication of Zeus-worship probably led some of the early numismatists to look for a representation of Zeus upon the coins.

The money, however, seems to point to a worship of Apollo as the principal deity of the place (3). Some even think that the figure upon the coins is copied from a colossal statue (4) of Apollo at Caulonia in the act of lustration (5). Since Caulonia

1. S. Shuckburgh's Trans. of Poly. I, 135, n.2. "The MS. vary between $\delta\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ and $\delta\mu\acute{o}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$. The latter seems to mean 'god of a common frontier'. But an inscription found at Orchomenus gives the form $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, which has been connected with $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ 'day'". W. Leake: Num. Hell. 117, "Zeus Homorios is the same as Homagyrus of Aeginas." Homarios, 'the god of union', is the generally accepted interpretation. See O.Gruppe, GriechMythol., 1611, 3.
2. G. Rathgeber, Annali dell' Inst., 1848, 171.
3. A.B.S.A., III, 151; Num. Zeit., XV, 27; G. Hill, J.H.S., XVII, 80; K. Müller: Gesch. hell. Stämme und St., II, 267, n.2; P. Gardner: The Types of Gk. Coins, 85; J. Overbeck: Griech Kunst-Mythol., III, 5; T. Mommsen: Gesch.d. Röm Munzw., 152; W. Leake: Num. Hell., 117.
4. A. Furtwängler, Roscher's Ausführliches Lex. der griech. und Röm. Myth. I, 453; G. Macdonald: Coin Types, 97; G. Rathgeber, Annali dell' Inst., 1848, 172; K. O. Müller: Handbuch der Arch. d. Kunst., Ed. 2, 516; A. Hands: Coins of Mag. Gr., 182.
5. P. Gardner: The Types of Gk. Coins, 85; Raoul-Rochette, Acad. des Inscr. et ^{*}Luynes, Nouv. Ann., I, 424-425; A. Holm: Gesch. Sicil im Altertum, I, 185; E. Babelon: Traite des Monn. greques et rom., I, col. 1461. * Belles-Lettres, 1845, 201-210; Le Duc de

was closely allied to Croton if not actually founded by her, it is natural to expect her to have accepted the cult of Apollo, which was the most prominent feature of the religious life of the latter city (1).

1. Pauly) in Pauly's Real-Ency., II, 226; Lübker's Reallex., 192; G. Rathgeber, Annali dell' Inst., 1848, 174; F. Streber, Abhand. der Philos. - Philol. Classe der könig bayer . Akad., ii, 725.

VI. ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS.

A. Coins.

The coinage of Caulonia extended from the early part of the sixth century (1) to 389 or 388, the date of her destruction by Dionysius (2). Silver was used entirely, for copper or bronze was not introduced until the city had ceased to be of importance (3). The Corinthian standard of staters of about one and three eighths inches and one hundred and twenty-five grains was used. It was divided into twelfths, sixths and thirds (4). From the

1. G. Rathgeber, Annali dell' Inst., 1848, 171 puts the earliest coins in Ol. 65 or 66, though he neglects to give evidence for so precise a determination.
2. Raoul-Rochette, Acad. des. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres, 1845, 189 corrects Eckhel for extending the coinage to 274. He would place but one silver and one bronze coin after 388 B.C. Samson: Recherches, 188, thought that the triquetra was coined between 389 and the fall of the city at the time of Pyrrhus but Holm: La Triquetra, 25, puts their date before 400 because they have O instead of \cup which is the prevalent form for the fourth century and later.
3. Raoul-Rochette, Acad. des. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres, 1845, 189² notes but one exception of a double type of Croton and Caulonia with the legend K P O. The Prince of San Giorgio: Med. Ital. Grece I, 11, the owner and publisher of the coin had first made this observation. T. Mommsen: Gesch.d.Röm. Münzn., 111, n.o.; 113, n.63 says that there are no bronze coins, but makes no reference to the publication of the Prince San Giorgio, and probably ^{was} unaware of its existence. F. Streber, Abhandlungen der Philos-Philol. Classe der bayer. Akad., II, 1838, 713; A. Hands: Coins of Mag. Gr., 186.
4. G. Macdonald: Cat. of Gk. Coins in Hunt. Coll. 89; T. Mommsen: Gesch.d.Röm.Münzw., 107; A. Hands: Coins of Mag. Gr., 184.

early period only one drachma has been found among many tetrachmas (1). A peculiar flat fabric with both inverse and obverse incuse was employed from the earliest times until the beginning of the fifth century (2) when it was replaced as at Croton and Poseidonia by a thicker fabric with reliefs upon both sides. The similarity among the coins of the cities of Magna Graecia, Caulonia, Croton, Sybaris, Poseidonia, Metapontum, Rhegium, Tarentum, and others points to some kind of a commercial agreement, whether it was an early monetary alliance (3) or the expression of Pythagorean influence (4).

One of the oldest and most characteristic types of coins represents an archaic male figure, with his hair in long ringlets, advancing to the right, in his uplifted right hand a branch and upon his outstretched left arm a small running figure. To the right in the field is a deer upon a base looking backward, to the left the legend $\text{K A } \vee \wedge$ often retrograde. The reverse is similar but the small figure is wanting.

1. Raoul-Rochette: Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres, 1845, 190.
2. Zeit. f. Num., XXVII, 82; G. Macdonald: Coin Types, 132; B. Head: Hist. Num. 2, 93; A. Hands: Coins of Mag. Gr., 181.
3. G. Macdonald: Cat. of Gk. Coins, 89; P. Gardner: Gk. Coin Types, 31; T. Mommsen: Gesch. d. Röm. Münz., 106.
4. A. Hands: Coins of Mag. Gr., 181; on page 159 he gives opinion of Lenormant (p.76, Tome II).

Most of the coins of Caulonia are only modifications of this earliest type. The legend increased to ΚΑΥΛΟ, ΚΑΥΛΟΝΣΑΤΑΜ, ΚΑΥΛΟΝΣΑΤΑΝ and later to ΚΑΥΛΟΜΙΑΤΑΞ (1). A few coins omit the K (2). In regard to the large figure, sometimes it carries one branch (3), sometimes two (4), sometimes none (5). It may carry a little figure or it may not (6). Its hair is either long or short and is sometimes bound with a fillet (7). The little figure at times carries a branch in one hand, at times in both (8), at times in neither. It may have drapery (9) upon its arm or not (10), winged sandals (11), wings on its shoulders (12) or neither. At first the stag appears with the large figure, sometimes wearing a necklace (13). Later an antlered stag appears alone upon the reverse (14). In the course of time the archaic figures become

1. B. Head: Hist. Num. 2, 94.
2. T. Mommsen: Gesch. d. Röm. Münzw., 106; B. M. C., p.339, no.32; E. Merzbacher, no. 262.
3. B. M. C., No.22.
4. Ibid., No. 4.
5. Ibid., No. 8.
6. Ibid., No. 7.
7. Ibid., No. 26.
8. Ibid., No. 11.
9. Ibid., No. 10.
10. Ibid., No. 24.
11. Ibid., No. 5.
12. Ibid., No. 4; Minervini, Bull. Nap., 1844, 108.
13. C. Caredoni: Bull. dell' instit. di correspo. archeol., 1840, 170.
14. B. M. C., No. 25; Raoul-Rochette, Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres, 1845, 194; A. Hands: Coins of Mag. Gr., 185.

more artistic, more lively, and freer (1). No artist's signature ever appears upon the coins but after 400 the symbols of the moneyers or magistrates occur (2).

There are a few entirely different types showing an ox skull (3); birds (4); swans (5); cranes (6); dolphins (7); a lion's head out of which water pours (8); a basin (9); an altar, a fountain, and a vase (10); a lighted torch ~~on~~ ^{at} altar table (11); a light upon an Ionic capitol (12); a female head (13); and the triquetra (14). There are also minor additions of ivy leaves, trees, flies, crabs and dots (15).

1. Raoul-Rochette, Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres, 1845, 190; J. Overbeck: Griech. Kunst-Mythol., III, 5, p.77.
2. A. Hands: Coins of Mag. Gr., 181.
3. Raoul-Rochette, Acad. des Inscr., 1845, 207; G. Rathgeber, Annali dell' Inst., 1848, 183.
4. Carellius: Num. Ital. Vet., 25.
5. Raoul-Rochette, Acad. des Inscr., 1845, 206; E. Babelon: Traite des Monn. greques et rom., I, col. 1462.
6. B. M. C., No. 13.
7. B. M. C., No. 37; A. Hands: Coins of Mag. Gr., 186.
8. Raoul-Rochette, Acad. des Inscr., 1845, 209.
9. Ibid., 204.
10. E. Babelon: Traité des Monn. greques et rom., I, col. 1462.
11. F. Carellius: Num. Ital. Vet., 25.
12. Ibid., 28.
13. B. M. C., No. 48.
14. A. Holm: La Triquetra, 25; Sambon: Recherches, 188; E. Babelon: Traité des Monn. greques et rom., I, col., 1463; T. Mionnet: Descri. de Médailles anti., I, Suppl., I, 966.
15. A. Hands: Coins of Mag. Gr., 186.

An attempt to discover the meaning of the most characteristic coins of Caulonia has continued to the present from the first description of them by Barrius in 1571 (1). Two centuries later Heyne (2) was uncertain whether the principal figure was Zeus or a hero sprung from Zeus and nourished by a deer. He was inclined to think that it was Zeus with a thunderbolt in one hand and a shield hanging from his other arm. Harduinus and Mazochius also believed the chief figure to be Zeus. The latter attempted to derive $K \Delta \vee \wedge$ from the Hebrew, but this theory has been rejected by Eckhel who, however, committed the same error that Mazochius had in interpreting the branch (3). Mionnet (4) likewise held that the large figure represented Zeus. The false view that the coins portrayed Zeus (5) was probably due to imperfect specimens upon which the branch could not be distinguished from a thunderbolt (6).

1. G. Barrius: De Situ Calab. III (Thes. XXX, 113-A). Signabant Cauloniatae in nummo cervum cum vase, et ex altera facie, Cresum Cauloniatae manu olivae ramum habentem, qui cum cervum fugaret in fluvium cadens, suffocatus est, inscriptione Graeca $K \alpha \upsilon \delta \omicron \nu \iota \alpha \tau \omega \nu$.
2. C. Heyne, opusc. acad., II, 204.
3. J. Eckhel: D. Num. Vet. I, 168. Vir nudus in herbis eodem modo stans, d. forte fulmen vibrat, in X Cervus vel cerva stans, juxta arbutum, vel ramus baccifer, vel aliud. Raoul-Rochette, Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres, 1845, 199 objects quite properly to Eckhel's description.
4. T. Mionnet: Descr. de Médailles ant., Suppl., I, 337/8, No. 972.
5. F. Streber Abh. d. Bayer. Akad., 1838, 724.
6. T. Panofka, Arch. Zeit., 1840, 166.

K. O. Müller (1) called the chief figure Apollo Daphnephoros represented as a god of purification waving a laurel branch. The little figure was Orestes in his opinion (2). But if the little figure were Orestes, it would need a sword and a mantle on its shoulder (3) but not wings (4).

There has always been a great divergence of opinion concerning the little figure. Steinbüchel thought Apollo held a satyr (5). Le Duc de Luynes called the little figure the son of Apollo (6). Birch suggested that Apollo was punishing Hermes for the theft of his cattle. But Panofka observed that the little figure was certainly not that of a child (7). Gerhard (8) thought it resembled rather some sportive mountain spirit like Pan, as indeed it does in its action, but it possesses none of the well marked attributes of Pan.

1. K. O. Müller: *Gesch. hell. Stämme*, II, 267, n.2.
2. K. O. Müller: *Handb. der Arch. d. Kunst*, Ed. 2, 516.
3. J. Panofka, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1840, 167.
4. F. Streber *Abh. d. bayer. Akad.*, 1838, 728; Wieseler's note in Müller: *Denkmäler d. Alten Kunst*. I, no. 72.
5. According to the report in Raoul-Rochette, *Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, 1845, 216, no. o, and T. Panofka, *Arch Zeit.*, 1840, 169.
6. Raoul-Rochette, 216.
7. T. Panofka, *Arch. Zeit.*, IV, 312.
8. E. Gerhard, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1848, 124.

Streber connected the coins with the worship of Apollo, although he did not think that he was actually represented on the money (1). Where Apollo was the national god, it was appropriate for Heracles to be the national hero. Therefore the chief figure was Heracles returning from the land of the Hyperboreans whither he had been enticed by the golden horned hind, and, bringing with him an olive branch, the Olympic victor's prize, while carrying upon the other arm one of the Cercopes (2). The large figure, however, does not carry the club of Heracles, and the Cercopes always appear together (3).

There are a few theories which do not connect the coins with the worship of Apollo. Romanelli thought that the figure was that of an athlete,⁽⁴⁾ a very improbable suggestion, especially for such an early period. Avellino (5) described the large figure as Bacchus holding the ivy in one hand and a little figure of madness upon his other arm, while the deer was a Dionysiac symbol. There is, however, no justification for such an interpretation of these figures (6).

1. F. Streber, *Ahb. d. Bayer. Akad.*, 1838, 747.
2. *Ibid.*, 732 f. This myth is described in Pindar, *Olymp.*, III, 45 ff.
3. T. Panofka, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1840, 170.
4. As quoted by Raoul-Rochette, *Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, 1845, 194.
5. As quoted by G. Rathgeber, *Annali dell' Inst.*, 1848, 174, 181.
6. F. Streber, *Bayer. Akad.*, 1838, 724; Raoul-Rochette, *Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, 1845, 196.

Raoul-Rochette had two theories. The first was that the chief figure might be some person elevated to a divine rank, some local hero or the people personified. He suggested that Caulonia should be accompanied by $\Delta \eta \mu \circ \varsigma$ (1). But this view he rejected in favor of the more common theory that it was Apollo. Since the branch nearly always appears, he thought it must be of integral importance. Raoul-Rochette and Le Duc de Luynes came independently to the conclusion that the way in which it was held showed that it was being used for lustration (2). The laurel branch was most commonly used to sprinkle people for purification, usually at a temple, or before a spring. Basins, probably of lustral water, appear upon some coins, and the swans in connection with them seem to point to lustration and initiation (3). The chief figure must, therefore, represent Apollo Καθαρτῆς , the god of lustration (4), who appeared upon the coins of many neighboring cities (5). As for the little figure, it was the genius of lustration Ἀγρυσμός or Καθαρμός personified. The coin suggested a statue upon which it was common, especially in personifications, (6) to carry something upon the arm, as Apollo

1. Raoul-Rochette, Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres, 1845, 200-201; 209, n.3. The first theory Raoul-Rochette himself rejected.
2. Ibid., 201, n.o.; 206; Le Duc de Luynes, 424 f.
3. Raoul-Rochette, 203-206.
4. Ibid., 210.
5. Ibid., 223-233.
6. See page 211, n.3 for other examples of personifications of abstract ideas.

of Delos with the three graces, Hera of Coronea with the Sirens (1), and Zeus at Olympus and Athena at Athens with a Nike (2). Raoul-Rochette felt that it was impossible to draw any inference from the animals, for they depend too much upon local conditions. He noted that the deer often appeared with Apollo (3), probably as the symbol, or coat of arms of the state in the case of Caulonia (4).

Mionnet was unable to decide whether the little figure was Orestes as Müller had suggested, or a personification of *Καθαρμός* as Raoul-Rochette indicated (5). Caredoni (6) gave up his first theory in view of those of Müller and Raoul-Rochette. He went on to conjecture, however, that, because Cerynea between Arcadia and Achaea was only a short distance from Aegium from which Caulonia was settled, its citizens probably took part in the founding. Here Orestes had founded a temple to the Eumenides, which circumstance would explain the "connection of the Cerinitide deer with Orestes expiated by Apollo" (7). This suggestion is supported by no historical record, and is most improbable.

1. Ibid., 212-213.
2. G. Rathgeber, Annali dell' Inst., 1848, 180.
3. Raoul-Rochette, 217, n.1.
4. Ibid., 210.
5. K. O. Müller: Handbuch der Arch. d. Kunst. 516; Mionnet, Pl.59.2.
6. C. Caredoni: Bull dell' instit. di corrisp. archeol., 1840, 171.
7. Ibid., 171.

Panofka (1) thought Apollo was a sort of forest god, a god of healing in the act of striking in order to drive out evil and sickness. Or possibly the coin came from a statue of Paeon ($\Pi \alpha \epsilon \omega \nu$, "the striker") (2). There was a statue of Aulonius in the Temple of Aesculapius in Aulon in Messema which might not have been very different from the figure on the coins of Aulonia. The little figure was either a man or some hero as Typhon, or Caulos. Indeed there seemed to be a close connection between Caulos, son of the Amazon Clita, and Hippolytos, son of the Amazon Hippolyte, at Sparta near the shrine of Aulon. The large figure might be striking the small figure to heal him. The branch with which he struck was a modification of the great trees carried by the hieroduloi of Apollo Hylatas, which would also suggest a play upon the word $\kappa \alpha \upsilon \lambda \acute{o} \varsigma$ (3).

Rathgeber thought that the coin was probably copied from a statue at Caulonia very similar to the Poseidon figure at Paestum (4). He suggested that Learchus made the statue by nailing together several pieces of bronze, and possibly fashioned the die from which the coin was struck (5). Just as the statue of Poseidon was in the act of attacking his enemies with a trident so, as

1. T. Panofka, Arch. Zeit., 1840, 173.
2. Cic., Verr., IV, 58 mentions a statue of Paeon in Syracuse.
3. T. Panofka, Arch. Zeit., 1840, 174.
4. G. Rathgeber, Annali dell' instit. di corrisp. arch., 1848, 172; B. S. A., III, 151. The figures of Poseidon and Apollo reproduce the Aegion type both in attitude and action.
5. Ibid., 184, 188.

Rathgeber conjectures, Apollo grasped a branch, possibly the willow, to chastise the attacking barbarians (1). The fear inspired by the attacking god would be represented by a personified $\Delta \epsilon \rho \mu \omicron \varsigma$ (2). Such personifications appeared upon Hesiod's "Shield of Heracles", which dates from the same period as these coins, and might possibly have influenced the artist of the coins (3). The tree might represent the grove in which Apollo was worshiped. There were possibly tame deer in this grove and later a statue of a deer might have been placed near the statue of Apollo which would explain its appearance with Apollo upon the coin (4).

Leake thought that Apollo was accompanied by Hermes and the deer of Artemis. In regard to the lustral branch he wrote, "It seems to indicate that the type relates to a $\kappa \alpha \theta \alpha \rho \mu \omicron \varsigma$, or purification, and may have been intended to record the cessation of some plague with which the Cauloniatae had been afflicted, and the cure of which they attributed to Apollo" (5).

During the latter half of the nineteenth century the coins were almost universally considered to represent Apollo (6),

1. G. Rathgeber, Annali dell' instit., 1848, 175.
2. Ibid., 180.
3. Ibid., 179.
4. Ibid., 181-182.
5. W. Leake: Numis. Hellen., 118.
6. T. Mommsen: Gesch. d. Röm. Münz., 152; Num. Zeit., XV, 27.

but there was the greatest divergence of opinion concerning the small figure (1). Apollo in the act of lustration (2), probably copied from some statue (3) as had been suggested by Muller, was thought to be accompanied in turn by Aristaeus (4), Caulos (5), a demon (6), a genius of lustration (7), or a wind god. The latter view as set forth by Lloyd is accepted by many (8). Lloyd thinks in view of the windy location of Caulonia, as implied in the name of the mythical founder, that it would be appropriate for the swiftly moving little figure to represent a personification of the winds with which Apollo Catharsius cleanses the air.

1. Hill, J. H. S., 1897, 80. "The little winged figure which runs along the arm of Apollo in coins of Caulonia may be compared with the winged divinities on the cups of Cyrenaic origin which have been explained by Studniczka as Boreades".
2. A. Holm: *Gesch. Sicil. im Alt.*, I, 185; J. Overbeck: *Griech. Kunstmythol.*, III, 5: Apollon, p.76; E. Babelon: *Traité des monn. greques et rom.*, I, col. 1461.
3. A. Furtwängler, Roscher's *Lex. der griech. u. röm. Myth.*, I, col. 453; E. Babelon: *Traité des monn. greques et rom.* I, col. 1463; J. Overbeck: *Griech. Kunstmythol.* III, 5. p.77 does not think that the figure on the coin was taken from a statue.
4. A. Furtwängler, Roscher's *Lex. der griech. und. röm. Mythol.* I, col. 453 approves of Le Duc de Luynes' explanation of the coin as representing Apollo and Aristaeus as the best, although even this was not to him completely satisfactory.
T. Panofka, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1840, 168 objects that the characteristic marks of Aristaeus are missing.
5. J. De Witte: *Descr. des medailles et antiq. du cabinet de M. l'abbe H. G.*, 24, refers to *Revue Num.*, 1845, 400.
6. A. Furtwängler, Roscher's *Lex.* I, col. 453.
7. E. Babelon: *Traité des Monn. gre. et. rom.*, I, col. 1463, no. 2180.
8. J. Overbeck: *Griech. Kunstmythol.*, III, 5, 77; K. Regling: *Griech. Münz. der Sammlung Warren*, p. 23 on 141 with Overbeck. P. Gardner: *The Types of Gk. Coins*, 85; A. Hands: *Coins of Mag. Gr.*, 183.

The branch in his hand would represent the boughs of trees swayed by the breezes (1). Although Gardner approves of Lloyd's theory, he suggests an alternative; namely, that the little figure is a personification of the $\chi \acute{o} \lambda o s$ or wrath of Apollo about to attack his enemies (2). The attitude of the large figure, which Gardner is fairly certain represents Apollo, is one apparently of protection toward the deer, which seems to be looking around to him for aid(3).

Macdonald does not think that the device which resembles an archaic statue has ever been satisfactorily explained. To him the stag does not seem to be connected closely with Apollo, whose statue was probably only a specially selected device, but with the name of the city as the town-arms or $\pi \alpha \rho \acute{\alpha} \sigma \eta \mu \omicron \nu$ used upon the coinage as a symbol (4) of Caulonia. The importance of the stag is shown in the later coins where it appears alone upon the reverse. "This would be interesting as giving an example of a $\pi \alpha \rho \acute{\alpha} \sigma \eta \mu \omicron \nu$ that developed out of a mere symbol into an independent type, a process which would be the reverse of the

1. W. Lloyd: Num. Chron., 1848.
2. P. Gardner: The Types of Gk. Coins, 86. A. Hands: Coins of Mag. Gr., 183, suggests that the wrath of Apollo would be expressed by arrows rather than branches.
G. Rathgeber, Annali dell' Instit., 1848, 176, suggested that Apollo appears unarmed due to the influence of the Pythagoreans, who were vegetarians and opposed to the shedding of blood.
3. P. Gardner: The Types of Gk. Coins, 85.
4. A. Hands: Coins of Mag. Gr., 183 observes that the lion was used in a similar fashion as the symbol of Velia.

ordinary one but for which something of a parallel could be got on the coins of Leontini. It would also furnish an apt explanation of the double inscription - a very unusual feature of Greek coins of any period" (1).

Hands gives a good explanation of the coin agreeing for the most part with the theories proposed by Lloyd, Gardner, and Macdonald. That the appropriateness of the representation of the wind by the little figure may be more apparent, he suggests that possibly "the very name Caulonia may be derived from the root $\alpha\omega$, $\alpha\eta\mu$, $\alpha\upsilon\omega$, to blow" (2).

Garrucci suggests that the large figure may be a personification of the promontory Cocinthus, upon which he thinks Caulonia was located, accompanied by the wind god Zephyrus. Around the head of the principle figure upon one of the coins Garrucci reads $\text{I KE TE}\Sigma\text{I}$ (3) for IKETERIA , according to Babelon (4). Head thinks that Garrucci's reading is very doubtful on account of the forms Σ and I , but if it be true, and if the coins of Caulonia were issued upon special occasions, he thinks it might apply to the games at Caulonia which might have been called $\text{I KE T \eta \sigma \iota \alpha}$ (5).

1. G. Macdonald: Coin Types, 132 f.
2. A. Hands: Coins of Mag. Gr., 183.
3. Garrucci, Pl. CXXV, 17, p.186.
4. E. Babelon: Traité des monn. gre. et rom., I, col. 1463, No. 2179.
5. B. Head: Hist. Num. 2, 93.

Head thinks that the name of Caulonia comes from $\kappa\alpha\upsilon\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$, as had been suggested by Panofka. Later an eponymous hero was found in Caulos to whom the $\kappa\alpha\upsilon\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ was assigned as the $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta\mu\omicron\nu$, just as the $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\nu\omicron\nu$ leaf to the hero of Selinus. The same emblem was held by the little genius who might have personified Άγώρ , or Hermes $\alpha\gamma\omega\rho\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ or $\delta\rho\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ if the coins were issued on the occasion of festivals (1).

Unless the archaeological finds of future excavations throw some light upon the meaning of this device , it might be possible to go on almost indefinitely with speculations about it. The recorded history of Caulonia unfortunately gives no aid to the explanation. From all the theories offered so far, it seems most plausible to see upon the coin Apollo in the act of lustration, holding upon his arm the mythical hero of the city or possibly a personification of the wind with which the god cleanses the air, while under his protection stands a deer as the town symbol of Caulonia.

1. B. Head: Hist. Num. ², 93.

B. Other Objects.

Since the exact site of Caulonia has not been discovered, at least, until recently, her archaeological remains are scanty. A few have been found in the general region of Stilo and Monasterace, which are supposed to have been in the territory of Caulonia. Giuseppi Crea reported that the workmen upon his place Matalone in the territory of Stilo found two mosaic pavements of varied colors (1), one eight by six meters and the other four by four (2).

In 1909 Orsi published a grave relief (3) found near Caulonia which he believes to be an Attic importation of the fifteenth century (4). Halbherr (5) also thinks that the architecture and style point to a late period and that the forms of the letters show that it was later than the fourth century. Yet if it is a

1. Fiorelli, Notizie degli Scavi, 1883, 189.

2. Ibid., 257.

3. P. Orsi, Notizie degli Scavi, 1909, 328.

Καλλίστη Φιλίππου τοῦ Ῥησιμάχου Γαργεττίου γυνή.
Λαυσίχη καὶ Εὐτυχία τὸ ἐπίσταμα.

B. Haussoullier, Revue de Philol., 1910, 67 suggests the emendation of Ῥησιμάχου to Ῥηξιμάχου.

4. S. Whibley, The Year's Work in Class. Studies, 1911, 41.
P. Orsi, Notizie degli Scavi, 1909, 330 notes that a Greek inscription had been found in the town hall at Catanzaro which Lenormant (La Grande Grèce, II, 271, 273) proved to be of Byzantine origin.

5. P. Orsi, Notizie degli Scavi, 1909, 329.

genuine Attic monument, he is surprised at the arch resting upon columns and at the Doric form ἐπίστῳα (1). It might be possible, on the other hand, that the monument was not an importation. After the death of her husband Calliste might have left Attica for Caulonia where her Doric servants honored her with this funeral monument and inscription.

1. The coins show that the Doric dialect, or one very similar, was used at Caulonia. J. Eckhel: D. Num. Vet., I, 167; T. Mommsen: Röm. Gesch: I, 132 says that it was like the Doric except that it lacked the h. From this inscription and the legends upon the coins it is possible to reconstruct the alphabet.

6th - 5th Cent.	5th - 4th	4th-	2nd or 1st
Α Λ Ϻ	Α	Α Λ	Α Α
			Β
			Γ
			Δ
		Ε	Ε
			Η Η Η
	Θ	Θ	Θ
	Ζ Ζ	Ζ Ι	Ι
Κ Ε Ε	Κ	Κ	Κ Κ
Λ Λ Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ
	Μ		Μ
	Ν	Ν	Ν
Ο	Ο	Ο	Ο
	Ξ	Ξ	Ξ
	Τ	Τ	Τ
Υ	Υ	Υ	Υ
		Φ	Φ
			Χ
		Ρ Ρ Ρ	

In 1891 during the construction of a light house at Stilo, the walls of a Greek structure and many fragments of a building ornamented with terra cotta were found. The style is that of the ordinary archaic which obtained from the seventh to the middle of the fifth century in Greece and Magna Graecia (1). Among the fragments was a portrait of a human being making offering to a goddess; a herm-like figure of archaic style, possibly Apollo or Pan (2); a portion of a painted face dating from the fifth century; rectangular objects with animals on the outside, possibly tiny alters; a roof tile representing a young man riding upon a dolphin; and various other tiles and portions of columns (3). From the nature of the figures Orsi judges that the building which they decorated was a little chapel dedicated to Poseidon, Taras, or Apollo Delphinios as protector of sailors, for cults of protecting sea deities were common along the coast (4).

Not far from the Cape of Stilo at Fontanelle were found fragments of a Doric Capitol of a temple, foundation walls, pottery, and the corner of a building with the stones still fastened together (5). At the station of Stilo-Monasterace are fragments of a villa of the Graeco-Roman Period. Orsi thinks that during the decline of the Roman Empire this villa was used as a burial ground, for twenty rude graves were found within it(5).

1. P. Orsi, Notizie degli Scavi, 1891, 61.

2. Ibid., 68.

3. Ibid., 64.

4. Ibid., 67.

5. Ibid., 69.

Fragments of a very large primitive Doric column of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century point to the existence of a great temple in this region (1). In 1911 near the remains of such a temple (2) Orsi believes that he brought to light the ancient city of Caulonia (3).

1. P. Orsi, Notizie degli Scavi, 1891, 70-72.
2. K. Baedeker, Unter - Ital., 260.
3. Boll. dell' assoc. arch. rom., I, 1911, 169;
S. Whitley, The Year's Work in Class. Studies, 1911, 19.

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THE HISTORY OF THE
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FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME
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OF THE BOSTON BAR
IN TWO VOLUMES
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IN THE CITY OF BOSTON
1808

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